

AMERICA AS INTERPRETED IN SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE.

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PREFACE.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Professor S. L. Whitcomb who suggested to me the subject of this study and aided me with his helpful suggestions throughout the period of its preparation. The subject is one of special interest to me, for as a child I gathered some of my earliest impressions of America from a third grade Norwegian geography and Christian Winther's rollicking poem, read by all Scandinavian school children. I have vivid recollections of the struggle I went through in my early days in the United states to reconcile these childish impressions with facts as I saw them after entering American schools.

I wish also to express my appreciation of the assistance given me by Mr. Manchester and Mrs. Clark of the library of the University of Kansas who helped me in my search for material, and by Miss Mary Larson who kindly lent me material which would otherwise have been unavailable.

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INTRODUCTION.

Through all ages men have shown interest in strange peoples and far-away places. Herodotus described the manners of Egypt, India, and Arabia with naive zest and delight; Homer travelled with Odysseus to the land of the Lotus-eaters and the cave of the giant Polyphemus; Tacitus studied the curious customs of the German barbarians. Through the centuries historians, poets, and story-tellers continued to feel the enchantment of remote places till we now have a vast body of literature concerned with the far quarters of the earth—the jungles of India, the deserts of Africa, the icy expanses of the far North.

In this great body of literature no section is perhaps of more interest than that dealing with America. Discovered in 1492 by Christopher Columbus, who thought it an island off the coast of India, America soon became the center of interest for the eyes of all Europe. Adventurers and explorers hastened to cross the Atlantic while royal powers fought for territorial rights. The great forests and rolling prairies of the new continent became the goal of the poor and oppressed, the bold and the daring, and for a time its Indians, its buffalos; its vast unexplored regions stirred the imagination even more than the oriental splendors of India and China. Through the years of the French and Indian wars, the American revolution, the founding of an

independent nation, the Civil War, and the development of the United States as a great world power, America has continued to hold the eyes of the world by its unique government, its romantic history, its vast natural resources, and its peculiar position as the foster-land of millions of immigrants. Naturally the body of literature dealing with America is both vast and varied. Beginning in 1493 with a letter of Columbus "concerning the Islands of India beyond the Ganges recently discovered", it passes through the curious early accounts of Vespuccio and Magellan to the philosophical discussions of Tocqueville, the memoirs of Lafayette, and the more familiar criticisms of Arnold and Dickens. The vastness of the field is well illustrated by Harrisse's four hundred and ninety titles of books relating to America published¹ between the years 1492 and 1551, and by Sabin's unfinished dictionary of works concerning America with its twenty volumes² and more than eighty-two thousand titles. Probably no European nation is without its books on America - works of peculiar interest to the American student of foreign literature. That the Scandinavian people share in this general interest in America is apparent from the 1915 catalogue of one of the

1. Harrisse. Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima. 1866.
Additions. 1872.

2. Sabin. A Dictionary of Books relating to America from its discovery to the present time. Vol. I - XX, part 1. 1868-92.

1

largest Scandinavian publishers which contains a section devoted to books on America. The interest of the Scandinavian people is, to be sure, only natural. The average Scandinavian, his imagination already stirred by half-legendary tales of Norsemen who journeyed to Vinland, is quick to feel the romance in the discovery and early history of America. He is interested in her experiments in government and education, for he is himself a member of a freedom-loving people eager for knowledge and the liberty that goes with it, and, because he has many contacts with America, he is trying to understand her civilization and culture. It is safe to say that no Scandinavian family is without its friend or relative in America. For years growing population and diminishing natural resources have forced the youth of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden to migrate to this country. Hundreds of Scandinavians have settled in the fertile valleys of Minnesota, Iowa, and the Dakotas; hundreds of others are scattered through the country from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific seaboard. The letters of the emigrants and their conversation when they return to their homeland, as many of them do, either to visit or to stay, furnish the basis for many of the Scandinavian impressions of America. Others are based upon the experiences of Scandinavian visitors to this country. Many of the foremost writers, for example, have come here, and then gone

1. Bonniers.

back to publish their observations. The list includes Fredrika Bremer, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, and Johan Bojer. The American tourist who goes up through the fjords of Norway, or, more seldom, through the iron mines of Sweden and the picturesque islands of Denmark furnishes another important link between the Scandinavian countries and America. He is not as common as the American tourist in France, Italy, or England who is also met by Scandinavians travelling or living abroad, but he makes his impression nevertheless. There is some contact, too, through American literature. Every small boy reads Cooper, and translations of Uncle Tom's Cabin, Huckleberry Finn, Tom Sawyer, and Longfellow's poems are common.

It would be impossible in a study of this nature to cover adequately all that Scandinavians have written about America, for that would entail a careful examination¹ of the literature of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Iceland from the year 1492 to the present date. In an attempt to limit the field somewhat, all literature written previous to the year 1800 has been omitted from this study. There were undoubtedly interesting Scandinavian comments on America written earlier, for example the anonymous Short Account of² the West Indies or America, otherwise called the New World

1. All discussion of Icelandic literature has been omitted from this study. Modern Icelandic books are largely unavailable, and the writer found nothing of interest in the few she examined.

2. Kort Berättelse om Wäst Indien eller Amerika, som elliäst kallas Nya Verlden.

which was published in 1675, but the material is, in general, thin and scattered. Much of it is unavailable now. This study has been further limited by the omission, except in the case of Bjørnson's articles and Hamsun's lectures, of all literature of a historical, sociological, or journalistic nature. It is confined, then, to a discussion of references to America found in the "schönliteratur" produced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by important Scandinavian writers. Because the Scandinavian interpretation of America is composed of the separate interpretations of various men and women, an attempt has been made to study more or less thoroughly the interpretations of the outstanding figures which appear in every generation, basing all generalizations upon their individual opinions. This paper, although not formally divided, then, consists of two parts, the first a study of the place of America in the work of such writers as Fredrika Bremer, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Knut Hamsun, and Johan Bojer, the second a discussion of the conclusions and generalizations at which the writer has arrived from a study of these individual authors.

Scandinavian literature dealing with America divides itself roughly into three periods after 1800 - the early nineteenth century, the late nineteenth century, and the twentieth century. Though the work of some of the writers considered does not fall entirely within any one

period, an attempt has been made to classify each author in the period to which he belongs chronologically and in spirit. Thus Fredrika Bremer is associated with the writers of the early nineteenth century, though Hemmen i Nya Verlden¹ was not published till 1866², and Knut Hamsun is placed in the twentieth century with Bojer and Selma Lagerlöf, though a good deal of his work falls within the life time of Ibsen and Bjørnson.

In the following chapters an attempt has been made to trace the development of the Scandinavian interpretation of America through the three periods mentioned.

1. Homes in the New World.

2. Hemmen i Nya Verlden was, however, written between 1849 and 1851.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.

With the romantic movement in the early nineteenth century Scandinavian literature experienced a great renaissance. The eighteenth century had been a period of criticism, of learning and enlightenment largely under the influence of the French rationalists. Ushered in by the work of the great Danish dramatist, Holberg, it did not live up to its early promise. Ewald and Baggesen toward the close of the century laid the foundation for a national literature in Denmark, but aside from Holberg there were no great literary figures till the beginning of the nineteenth century. Then came the rich period of romanticism. In Denmark it was the age of Oehlenschläger, of Grundtvig, Ingemann, Heiberg, and Hertz, of Carsten Hauch and Paludan-Müller, of Winther and Hans Christian Andersen. In Sweden it was the period of Wallin and Tegnér, Atterbom and Geijer, Rydberg and Fredrika Bremer. There it was, even more than in Denmark, a period of poetry, with the Phosphorists imitating German romanticism and the members of the Gothic school seeking their inspiration in the early legends and history of Sweden. Norway, after its separation from Denmark in 1814, was developing a distinctly national literature under the leadership of the poets, Wergeland and

and Welhaven, and the collectors of folk tales, Asbjørnson and Moe. Its literature was not much touched by romanticism, though the Norwegian critic, Henrik Steffens, gave the movement its first impetus in the Scandinavian countries. The intense national feeling, the joy at being freed from Denmark, and the reaction against all things Danish which accompanied it no doubt account for this individuality in the Norwegian literature of the first half of the century.

The eighteenth century had been a time of peace. The great events in Europe - the Seven Years War, the divisions of Poland, the French and American revolutions - did not affect the Scandinavian countries directly, though their influence was, no doubt, great. In the early nineteenth century, however, came a period of national disaster. Denmark, in its vain struggle to remain neutral through the Napoleonic wars, came into conflict with England, and, though hopelessly defeated, the people were stirred to high national feeling by the gallant defence of the Danish fleet in 1801. Sweden, too, with the loss of Finland in 1808 and deposition of the king in the following year, entered upon a period of new life and renewed pride in its own culture, while Norway, as already said, was aroused to intense patriotic ardor by the various political movements which took it out of the hands of Denmark and placed it, after a short interval of freedom, into the control of Sweden.

In such a period of romanticism as the early nineteenth century we naturally expect to find Scandinavian literature dealing with America, and we are not disappointed. In spite of the strong national feeling which caused poets and story-tellers of this period to seek their themes in early Scandinavian history and legend, in spite of the interest in classical times which took such men as Rydberg into the realm of classical antiquity, in spite of the comparative ease with which continental settings could be used to furnish romantic atmosphere, an interesting body of literature was produced with America as its theme. The material is still scattered. One can examine a whole set of Tegnér without finding more than the line in which England, reviling France, says,

"Deep 'midst America's swamps hides Victor Moreau"¹
 One can scour through the fifteen volumes of Oehlenschläger's poetical works before one discovers Landet Vundet og Forsvundet.² Yet, difficult as the material is to find, it is worth the search, for such important writers as Oehlenschläger, Winther, Wallin, Carsten Hauch, Franzén, and Fredrika Bremer have left us their impressions of the New World.

1. From the poem England och Frankrike (England and France.)

"djupt bland Amerikas träsk gömmer sig Viktor Moreau."

2. The Land Found and Lost.

FRANZÉN.

One of the most interesting early Scandinavian accounts of America is contained in Franzén's epic poem, Columbus eller Amerikas Upptäckt¹, published in 1831. Frans Michael Franzén (1772 - 1847) was a Finn by birth, but moved to Sweden when Russia obtained possession of Finland. There he became a bishop in the Swedish church and one of the foremost poets of the early nineteenth century. Though Franzén stood aloof from both the Gothic school and the Phosphorists, we can trace the influence of the romantic movement in his epic, Columbus, and in the idyllic descriptions of life and nature which fill his shorter lyrics.

The epic, Columbus, was never finished, and is, on the whole, a failure. As we have it, it consists of twelve complete cantos and some fragments describing Columbus's journey to America and his experiences with the natives on the shores of the New World. The poem is evidently the work of Franzén's imagination. Copernicus accompanies Columbus on his voyage of exploration; interpreters spring up from nowhere when the Spaniards wish to converse with the natives; and the chief aim of the noble hero is the conversion of the heathen.

Judging by the general outline of the story, we

1. Columbus or the Discovery of America.

do not expect the description of America to be accurate and it is not. The land is described as one of luxuriant beauty, a place of flowers and strange fruits, of glittering fishes and colorful birds. Swans, parrots, and flamingos fly among the trees; sparkling brooks run down from the mountains; crocodiles inhabit the larger streams; corn, grapes, and tobacco are among the new plants which the Spaniards find growing wild. The natives are described as naked red men who behave like friendly children, approaching the Spaniards with the white flag, the peace pipe, and the Wampum belt. They fight with bows and arrows, clubs, stone axes, and swords of bone when their visitors seem unfriendly, but are afraid of the white man's gun and scatter before it. Feather headdresses are mentioned, and one man is painted with terrible gods and devils which are supposed to keep him safe from all harm. The natives are nature worshippers, and hold elaborate ceremonies before their altars, dancing to the music of a drum. Some of the tribes are cannibal; others live on bread, fruits, and fried meat, the rabbit being a prized delicacy. This picture of America and of the natives is interesting to us, but it is far from accurate. Truly Franzén might have been a Phosphorist! He based his epic poem on a few facts and the inventions of a romantic imagination.

OEHLenschLÄGER.

Adam Gottlob Oehlenschläger (1770 - 1850) was probably the first and the greatest of the Scandinavian romanticists. From his meeting with Henrik Steffens in July 1802, modern Danish literature is said to have its beginning, and for the next half century practically every Scandinavian writer drew his first inspiration from this Danish poet. Oehlenschläger was as strongly national as he was romantic, almost always choosing themes from early Scandinavian history or legend. His greatest work was written in the years immediately following his meeting with Steffens, but he continued writing until his death in 1850.

Landet Vundet og Forsvundet, Oehlenschläger's only work dealing with America, is a poetic drama written in the forties. Its theme is the early discovery of America by the Norsemen. The play, which consists of two short scenes, opens with a prologue in which Hler Agir, god of the sea, boasts of the great undertakings on which he has sent the Norsemen -

"farther down I directed them,
To find a more southern land where grapes grow,
And long before Columbus won explorer's praise,
Five hundred years before, the Northmen learned

Of Agir the way to the still hidden parts of the world."¹

The first scene is laid in Iceland. Biørn, a young Viking, discovers that Thorild, who is about to fight with him for the hand of Thuride, saved his life on the sea one day. Like a true hero he sails away, leaving the bride to his rival. The second scene is laid on "a beautiful coast beside the sea, surrounded by strange deciduous trees and bushes."² It is Vinland, discovered by Biørn, who is, of course, ready for any desperate undertaking. He and his comrades stand on shore, rejoicing over the end of the long sea journey, when they are attacked by fierce savages who try to kill them. They are, however, saved by Quetsalcoalt, a Norseman who had lived among the savages as a god since he left Iceland under circumstances similar to those under which Biørn had left it now. Quetsalcoalt tells his story, gives gifts to Biørn, who is the son of his old sweetheart, and sends the party safely back to Iceland.

1. Oehlenschläger. Poetiske Skrifter. Vol. IX, p. 133.

"længer ned jeg viste dem,
At træffe mere sydligt Land, hvor Druer groer,
Og længe før Colombo vandt Opdagerroes,
Fem hundred Aar forinden, lærte Nordens Mand
Af Agir Vei til Verdens endnu skilte Deel."

2. Oehlenschläger. op. cit., p. 161. "En Skjøn Kyst ved Havet, omringet af fremmede Løvtræer og Buske."

The play, in its treatment of America, is interesting chiefly for two things - the characteristic description of the country of Vinland and the interesting pictures of the savage Indians. Oehlenschläger had no actual experience upon which to base his conception of the New World. He wrote out of his own romantic imagination, aided probably by some reading of early legends. The natural result is conventionality. Vinland is pictured as a beautiful land, luxuriantly overgrown with bushes, trees, and flowers, a land abundant in springs, maize, and wild grapes. The latter are, however, realistically small and sour! The Indians draw near with noise of pipes and drums, "naked, with belts about the waist, copper-colored, with long hair, but beardless,"¹ and dance a wild war dance before they begin their attack. We hear of their feathered finery, their clubs, their bows and arrows, but most of all we hear of their primitive simplicity. When Quetsalcoatl appeared on their shore they killed his companions, but saved his life and obeyed him as a god because of the white hair and beard he wore in youth. They did not know how to plow and harrow, cultivate the wild maize, or build strong huts. They were swayed by their emotions like children and could not be trusted, yet

1. Oehlenschläger. op. cit., p. 166. "Nøgne, med Bælt om Livet, kobberfarvede, med lange Haar, men skiæggeløse."

Quetsalcoalt looked upon them with tenderness and pity. The picture is, indeed, conventional, though not unfaithful to facts as Oehlenschläger knew them from his reading. After all we are not surprised at the artificiality and lifelessness of these descriptions. Little more could be expected from a writer who had no actual experience upon which to base his scenes.

WALLIN AND WINTHER.

Two well known Scandinavian poems on America belong to the early nineteenth century. They are Wallin's George Washington and Christian Winther's Flugten til Amerika.¹

Johan Olof Wallin (1779 - 1839) was Sweden's greatest hymn writer and one of the few poets in the early nineteenth century who managed to stand independent of both the Phosphorists and the Gothic school. Coming from a family of soldiers and pious churchmen, Wallin himself became archbishop of Sweden before his death. His greatest work was the revision of the Swedish psalm-book to which he contributed a hundred and fifty hymns, mostly of his own original composition, though a few were translations. Besides these religious songs, Wallin left a body of secular poetry memorable in itself.

²

The poem George Washington was written in 1837 as a toast at a dinner given on the twenty-second of February by the American minister to Sweden. It is one of Wallin's best poems, marked by a fine enthusiasm which has given it life long after the occasion for which it was intended. Wallin begins by calling on the men of Sweden to clink their glasses in honor of the great Washington whose place in

1. The Flight to America.

2. J. O. Wallin. Samlade Vitterhetsarbeten. Vol. 1, p. 77-8.

the pantheon of honor corresponds to that of the Swedish Wasa.¹ From that he passes to an eloquent praise of freedom - freedom at whose call Washington came to strike the tyrant dead and to make laws for his land. The fifth stanza sounds the note of immortality - when many a celebrated prince shall be forgotten, Washington shall be enthroned among the undying - and the poem ends with a description of his hero's grave, a place, not of fragrant flowers and weeping willows, but rather a place where dwell, in some mysterious fashion, love of freedom, law, and the state, faith and friendship for the whole world, and a heritage of everlasting hatred for all violence, slavery, and guile. It is interesting to note some of the phrases with which Washington is described in these six short stanzas - "brave builder of a nation," "noble hero", "citizen general", "kingly president", "the wise," "the brave", "crowned with the praise of centuries", "the great Washington", "king without court, without guard and pomp and crown," "the father of his native land."² Wallin's enthusiasm is evident - and his knowledge. He mentions Trenton, Yorktown, and Saratoga casually, and

1. Gustavus I. King of Sweden 1523 - 1560. It is interesting to note that Fredrika Bremer also compares Washington to Gustaf Wasa. Hemmen i Nya Verlden. Vol. I, p. 340.

2. Wallin. op. cit., p. 77-8. "tapper samfundsdanarn," "ädle hjelten," "den borgerlige generalen," "der konungslige presidenten", "den vise", "den tappre", "krönt af seklers lof", "den stora Washington", "den konungen förutan hof, förutan vakt och prakt och krona".

shows a certain easy familiarity with the facts of Washington's life. Like Oehlenschläger he learned his facts second hand, but he succeeded in making them his own. He idealizes American history, but his enthusiasm saves him from lifeless conventionality.

Christian Winther (1796 - 1876) is one of the greatest lyric poets of Denmark. His work is marked by naturalness and national feeling, though unhappy family circumstances forced him to spend a good many years in Paris and in Italy. His finest poem, Hjortens Flugt,¹ written at the age of sixty, and most of his important lyrics deal with the natural scenery of Sjælland or the love of man for woman. He wrote also a group of well-known children's poems. To this group Flugten til Amerika belongs.

As every American child is familiar with Paul Revere's Ride, so every Scandinavian child knows Flugten til Amerika. It is printed in Norwegian and Danish readers and issued in separate illustrated editions. The poem briefly tells the story of two little boys who set out for America one day when life looks very black. Fortunately their mother calls them in to dinner before they have gone very far. The poem is interesting chiefly for Peter's childish picture of America, a picture that is founded upon the impressions of older and wiser people, and does

1. The Flight of the Stag.

not differ essentially from the views still held by hundreds of foreigners. Peter's first idea is of remoteness. He tells his little brother that it is farther to America than to Aunt Lise's house in the country, and that one must sail over the water to get there. His second idea is of opportunity, of wealth. In America all comers are given a lordly estate and money to boot; horses are shod with silver and streets are paved with gold, whild hail and snow are sugar balls, and rain is lemonade. His third idea is of liberty combined with vulgarity. There is freedom from morning to night in America. Men sit all day in rocking chairs smoking cigars and spitting on the floor, and no one need go to school. This last idea is, of course, only the child's notion of liberty, for the Scandinavian people as a whole seem to be more or less familiar with the public school system in the United States. Exaggerated as this picture is, it shows the essential elements of the common interpretation of America. The ideas are not Winther's own - he much preferred his Denmark to any mythical land across the sea - but they are the ideas of people Winther observed all about him, put down with pleasant humor. As such they are worth considering in a study of this nature.

FREDRIKA BREMER.

Fredrika Bremer (1801 - 1865) is probably the best known Swedish novelist of the early nineteenth century. Her principal work consists of realistic pictures of the life of the middle class and of less successful attempts to discuss the status of women in novels, but she had also a deep interest in America which found expression in her travel book, Hemmen i Nya Verlden. To understand this interest it is necessary to know something of her life.

Fredrika Bremer was born into a rather trying family situation, and led an unhappy childhood and youth. Her father was a man of deep feeling, sincerely interested in giving his daughters the best education, but tyrannical, despotical, and hasty. Her mother was interested chiefly in society life and novel reading. Fredrika adored her, but received little attention in return, for she was the ugly duckling among the many sisters, and it was long before anyone realized that she had talents of her own. The girls were educated at home under a good governess, taken on a carefully planned continental tour, given good books to read, and expected to stay quietly at home till married. Into this simple plan of life Fredrika did not fit. She wanted freedom and a career, and her father's home seemed like a prison to her. It was only after years of physical

and mental torture that she found relief in religion, the care of her sickly sister, Agathe, and writing, which she had begun as a mere temporary pastime. Her father's death soon after the secret publication of her first book gave her further freedom. Fredrika threw herself eagerly into a study of psychology, philosophy, and religion under Böklin; she made many friends among the important people of the day, and a life of useful activity finally opened up before her.

The impressions of her early years were not to be forgotten, however. She was still passionately eager for the emancipation of women; she read much, and through Harriet Martineau's Society in America and Tocqueville's Démocratie en Amérique she became especially interested in the social reforms of America. In 1848, after the publication of Syskonlif¹, a novel which discusses openly questions of social reform, Fredrika Bremer startled her family by announcing that she meant to cross the Atlantic in order to study for herself the life of the New World. Objections were raised, but to no avail. In September, 1849, after an extended visit in Denmark, Miss Bremer set sail for America. The record of her two years visit there is found in Hemmen: Nya Verlden, a collection of letters originally written to her sister, Agathe, but printed in

1. Brotherly Life.

book form after Miss Bremer returned to Sweden and found this sister dead.

Of Miss Bremer's later life there is little that concerns us. She gave more and more of her attention to questions of social reform; she made a long journey to Palestine, Greece, and Rome, and died in 1865, deeply beloved as a social reformer, known over the world as a novelist.

All Miss Bremer's important comments on America are contained in Hemmen i Nya Verlden, though there are also references to America in her novels. For example, Strid och frid eller några scener i Norge¹, written ten years before Miss Bremer's visit to the United States, contains an interesting passage in which two lovers talk familiarly of Washington Irving's Columbus and argue over the extent of the explorer's debt to Icelandic records of a previous journey across the Atlantic. Hertha, written after Miss Bremer's return to Sweden, also contains references to America - and rather varied ones, for there is mention of slavery, the rights of women, the custom of taking honeymoon trips, and Lowell's poetry. Interesting as these scattered references are, we do not need them to understand Miss Bremer's interpretation of America. She has expressed herself fully and completely in Hemmen i Nya Verlden, and the passages in her novels add nothing new.

1. Strife and peace or some scenes from Norway.

Hemmen i Nya Verlden consists of a series of

thirty-nine letters, the first one written on the ocean voyage to America, the last one on the journey home.

Almost every letter was written over an extended period of time, so that we have a detailed account of practically everything Miss Bremer saw and did during her two years on this side of the Atlantic. There is also a supplement, giving a brief historical sketch of the Civil War which had its beginnings in the years Miss Bremer spent in the United States.

The reader of Hemmen i Nya Verlden is impressed first of all by Miss Bremer's enthusiasm. She is as eager to praise life in the New World as the most ardent American patriot. The unusual hospitality and courtesy accorded her accounts, to a certain extent, for this extraordinary enthusiasm, though Miss Bremer had also a strain of sentimentality which made it easy for her to use superlatives. Because she was already known to the American people as a novelist, Miss Bremer was everywhere greeted as a distinguished visitor. Cultured American families opened their homes to her, and she was besieged with invitations, letters and callers. She spent a fortnight with Lowell and four days with Emerson; she sat in the Senate when President Taylor's death was announced, and was present when Vice-President Fillmore took his oath of office; she watched Calhoun's

funeral, and listened spell-bound while Clay and Webster debated on the question of California's entrance into the Union. Her new friends took her everywhere, and eagerly showed her whatever they felt was characteristically American. They even discussed national faults with her, though Miss Bremer felt that these were mere signs of youthfulness, and refused to mention them.¹ Everywhere she was shielded from unpleasantness, so that it would, indeed, have been difficult for her to remain unenthusiastic.

Almost as soon as we notice the enthusiasm of Miss Bremer's letters, we notice the minuteness of her observations of American life. She describes Emerson walking bareheaded in a snowstorm to meet her, but she takes almost as much care to picture an obscure negro slave whom she meets on a walk. She describes the White House and the Capitol building, Lowell's home and the Astor House, but she tells, too, of her naive delight in fire flies and her first taste of bananas and peaches, squash and sweet corn. If we tire sometimes of the endless pictures of cemeteries, insane asylums, and prisons, we are glad in the end that Miss Bremer left a detailed account of her observations, for it contains much of interest, much without which we should have difficulty in understanding her generalizations.

1. Bremer. Hemmen i Nya Verlden. Vol. 1, p. 149.

For Fredrika Bremer the natural scenery of America possessed much of that luxuriant beauty which tradition attributed to Vinland. The White Mountains with their picturesque rocks and rushing brooks, their sugar maples and birches, their hazel copses and sumach, their pines and spruces, the banks of the Hudson with their bluffs and woods, their little homes and orchards, the Mississippi with its sandbanks and green islands, its shores lined with plantations, orange groves (sic), and cotton fields, the South with its live oaks, its magnolia trees and cypresses, its tangle of vines and underbrush, all captivated Miss Bremer. Even the air in America seemed to her fresher and more invigorating than that of the Old World, though she complained of its thinness and dryness the winter she spent in Boston.¹ The climate she found trying because of its sudden changes, but she felt that there was something youthful about it,² and Indian summer with its misty horizon lines was for her a never-ending source of wonder.

American cities Miss Bremer did not find as charming as the American countryside. This was partly because Miss Bremer, at the age of fifty, longed for quietness, orderliness, and rest. New York was noisy

1. Bremer. op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 133.

2. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 50.

and crowded, a mere hotel for America and Europe; Chicago was ugly and disorderly, full of people who came to earn money rather than to live; St. Louis, at a period of rapid growth, was characterized mainly by dirt, smoke, and German immigrants; Philadelphia, under its orderly and quiet exterior, was the scene of rough fights and much drinking, while the southern cities were disfigured by slavery and the attendant vices. Miss Bremer was, however, pleased with the parks and fine cemeteries of most American cities; she liked New England towns and the quietness of Brooklyn, and Cincinnati was for her a place of beauty, though she came there in hog-slaughtering time.

Miss Bremer was deeply interested in the history of the United States, glorying in its origin as though she herself had been a citizen. On the ocean she thought of Columbus; in New England she read the journals of the Pilgrim fathers; from Virginia she sent home glowing accounts of Pocahontas and Captain John Smith; Penn and Franklin became her subjects of study in Pennsylvania, Oglethorpe in Georgia, Lord Baltimore in Maryland. The more she learned of the early history of the United States, the greater became her enthusiasm. From New England she wrote, "And I do not know that any nation has had nobler foundation and founders. With the Pilgrim fathers in the New World all humanity had taken a forward step."¹

1. Bremer. op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 120. "Och ädla grundläggning och grundläggare vet jag icke att någon stat har haft. Med pilgrimsfäderna i nya världen hade hele menskligheten tagit ett steg framåt."

With this knowledge of American history, Miss Bremer was able to follow intelligently the political crises of eighteen-fifty and fifty-one, and later, of the Civil War. She studied the government of the United States largely from the vivitor's gallery of the Senate where she heard Clay and Webster speak, though she also discussed politics with her new friends and made a visit to the Massachusetts legislature. The visit to the Legislature did not impress her particularly. The Senate was sleepy, and the speech-making in the House was lively but plebeian. Congressional sessions made a much better impression upon her, though she objected to the noise and haste of the House of Representatives where each speaker had only an hour in which to talk. The orderly decorum of the Senate pleased her better. She liked the freedom of the discussions, the eloquence of such speakers as Clay and Webster, and, as she looked over that assembly where each man represented some individual state, she had a vision of the breadth of the United States and of the variety of the life within its borders. Miss Bremer sums up the impression this law-making body made upon her in the following words: "What have I seen? Something higher, more beautiful than the law-making bodies of the Old World? No. Something new? No. Not at least among the law-makers. --- What is invigorating and new

comes from the varied character of the states represented, comes especially from the vast, half-discovered land of the West, and the view over its wildernesses and paradises where many races roam, seeking or building homes."¹

Fredrika Bremer was especially interested in American churches, for she had been deeply religious since the difficult years of her youth. Her letters contain references to dozens of obscure ministers and descriptions of many tiresome sermons, for she visited churches wherever she went, and did not forget to record her observations. After attending the services of approximately fifteen denominations, Miss Bremer found that in the West the Catholic church was ahead of the Protestant in the matter of living out Christ's teachings.² On the whole, however, she felt that the church of the Pilgrims was growing, expanding, and developing more than any other.³ Miss Bremer was keenly conscious of the division in the American church made by the Unitarians and Trinitarians, and of interdenominational prejudice. She mentions Presbyterians who think

1. Bremer. op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 376 - 377. "Hvad har jeg sett? Något högre, skönare än den gamla världens råds-forsamlingar? Nej. Något nytt? Nej. Icke åtminstone hos rådsherrarne. - - - Det förfriskande och nya, kommer i synnerhet från Vesterns stora, halft obekante land och utsigten öfver dess vildmarker och paradiser, der fler-faldiga menniskoracer irra, sökande eller byggande hem."

2. Ibid. , Vol. 1, p. 132.

3. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 117.

all Unitarians "lost souls", and refers to a sermon marred by anti-Catholic sentiments. In general, however, Miss Bremer liked the American churches. The sermons seemed to her more closely related to every-day life than the average Swedish sermon, the singing more animated and more beautiful, though she complained that the congregation often did not join in with the choir. She disliked the long American prayers, however, and felt that no ritual was as beautiful as that of the Swedish church.¹ This last was a most natural reaction, for few American churches emphasize ritual.

It is impossible in a study of this nature to go thoroughly into Miss Bremer's impressions of such institutions as schools, prisons, and poorhouses. There were some things she did not like. In the Pennsylvania poorhouse too little individual attention was given to the blind, the lame, and the aged; in the southern negro jails slaves were left for months at the will of their masters; in the Boston Female Academy ambition for knowledge was so highly developed that the girls gave but scant attention to the duties and pleasures of the home. In general, however, Miss Bremer liked American institutions. Poorhouses and prisons were usually clean and orderly; insane asylums were made pleasant with flowers and music; schools succeeded in keeping the children wide-awake, and the accomplishments of students seemed very creditable on the whole.

1. Bremer. op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 156 - 158.

In studying the American school-system Miss Bremer was, of course, especially interested in provisions for the education of women. She said, "Educational institutions for women are in general far better than the European; and in the education and treatment of women lies perhaps the most important of America's tasks for the future of the human race."¹ She was pleased with the development of teaching and medicine as professions for women, but felt that the United States lagged behind France in the matter of preparing women to enter business as book-keepers.² In general Miss Bremer did not feel that American women came up to the good report brought to Europe by gentlemen travellers. That is not their fault, Miss Bremer says. It is rather the fault of an educational system which gives them book-learning but not that culture which comes from intimate knowledge of the world and of society.³ Nevertheless, Miss Bremer admired American women for their beauty, their sturdiness and independent spirit, and in many of them she found the breadth and depth and fineness which she sought.

1. Bremer. op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 125-126. "Uppfostringsanstalterna för fruntimmer stå; allmänhet högt öfver de europeiske; och; kvinnans uppfostran samt behandling ligger kanske det mest betydande af Amerikas framtidsarbete för människoslägtet."

2. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 326 - 328.

3. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 368 - 369.

Of the many races and classes of American people, Miss Bremer was perhaps most interested in the negro. This was entirely natural, for Miss Bremer's journey to the United States was made in the years immediately preceding the Civil War when the arguments of abolitionists stirred all who were interested in social reform. Miss Bremer utterly condemned slavery. She saw that slaves under good masters lived more comfortably than many European workers of the lower class, but she realized that slavery was not liberty, that good masters died, and that life under a bad master was an almost unthinkable horror. She saw, too, the evil effects of slavery on the white people - the increase of hardness and cruelty and illiteracy in the South. Much as she hated slavery, she felt that it would be unwise to banish it suddenly, for she thought that the negro must first be prepared for freedom through schooling and Christianity. Miss Bremer did not consider the black race as intelligent as the white, but she realized that it did possess ability in imitation and even a certain type of originality which the white man did not have. She spoke of the affectionate and emotional nature of the negro, of his occasional terrible cruelty, of his fine moral sense, his happy outlook on life, his musical ability. The picturesqueness of negro camp meetings, folk songs, and colored head-gear pleased her perhaps more than anything else she found in the South.

Miss Bremer gave some consideration to other races and peoples living in the United States. The Indian with his romantic legends interested her, but she did not care for the race. She felt that it was very primitive, and that contact with the white race was only contaminating it. The women she liked for their mildness and their love of nature, but the men she feared for their cruelty in war and their hardness toward women. She compares them to cocks whose valor and dignity are caused by selfish pride, and finds much artificiality in their grave silences.¹ The eyes of the Indians impressed her especially. They seemed to have a hard, clear, unemotional quality. They were intelligent and quick, but more like those of a wild beast than of a human being. She says, "There is a world of difference between these eyes and those of the negro people. The former are like a cold day, the latter like a warm night."² Miss Bremer admits that there have been a few noble Indians, but she lists the racial characteristics as "idolworship, haughtiness, cruelty, love of revenge, and the degradation of women."³

1. Bremer. op. cit., Vol. II, p. 108.

2. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 80. "Det är en himmelsvid skilnad emellan dessa ögon och Negerfolkets. De förra äro en kall dag, de senare en varm natt."

3. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 108. "afgudadyrkan, högmöd, grymhet, hämndlystnad, samt qvinnans förnedring."

Miss Bremer also comments on Creoles, Jews, and immigrants of many different nationalities. She was especially interested in her own countrymen, and made many visits to Swedish settlements where she saw the sufferings and hardships the settlers had undergone. From these visits she came to feel that emigration was only for the young and strong who were willing and able to work. The magnitude of the task immigration imposed upon America impressed Miss Bremer deeply, and felt a sincere appreciation of the patient care with which the poor of Europe were met, fed, and educated. In her attitude toward immigration there is no trace of blame for the government or people of the United States.

Hemmen i Nya Verlden is perhaps as interesting for its literary references as for anything else. Miss Bremer read widely in American literature during her two year's visit to this country, and, because she met many of the writers of the period, her comments upon American literature are fresh and interesting. She was perhaps more interested in Lowell, Bryant, and Emerson than in any of the other writers, for in these three, all of whom she met personally, she saw national characteristics. Hawthorne she liked, too, especially for his story, The Great Stone Face, which she recounts in detail. Longfellow's Evangeline she enjoyed greatly. She felt,

however, that Longfellow did not particularly represent America. His best traits were universal rather than national.¹ Washington Irving she met and studied as a man, but she says nothing of his writings except that to his sketches and Cooper's novels Sweden owes its first knowledge of America.² Miss Bremer also waxes enthusiastic over a number of minor writers, most of whom she met personally. The list includes Catherine Sedgwick, Lydia Maria Child, Mrs. Caroline Kirkland, Mrs. Sigourney, Mrs. Osgood, and Miss Lynch. She seems, however, to have recognized their comparative unimportance, for she comments on the great number of second and third rate poets in America.³

Of all American writers Miss Bremer seemed to be most interested in Emerson. She found him more unusual than either Bryant or Lowell. More philosopher than poet, he is yet poetic in his philosophy, she says, a mighty man who would recreate the world, seeking law and order only within his own breast. His real power Miss Bremer thinks is as a critic of all that is mediocre and weak. He is an idealist speaking always to the individual,

1. Bremer. op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 31-32.

2. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 138.

3. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 139.

and yet through him Miss Bremer feels all the largeness, the youth, and optimism of the New World.¹

Bryant sings of American nature in songs that breathe all the silent, fresh inspiration of nature itself. Miss Bremer was especially fond of Thanatopsis and the patriotic poem, The Prairies.²

Lowell is the poet of the New World's great social questions. He sings of freedom, of the blessedness of a noble life, of the joy and beauty of work. Miss Bremer was especially fond of the short poem, "The poor man's son," though Mrs. Lowell much preferred "The Vision of Sir Launfall." Miss Bremer praises his anti-slavery songs, too, and his "Prometheus." Lowell has a true poetic nature, she says, adding, "He does not make poetry, he sings it; and in his song we find that overflowing sentiment which makes the heart swell and the thought spread its wings."³ Of these three American poets, Lowell, Bryant, and Emerson, Miss Bremer says, "All of them, at any rate, let me feel a breath of the life of the New World in a certain unboundedness, large in aim, in conception, in demand, in faith and hope,

1. Bremer. op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 23-25.

2. Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 21 - 22.

3. Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 22 - 23. "han gör ej versen, han sjunger den ; och i hans sång är detta svall, som låter hjertat svalla och tanken lyfta sina vingar."

something that lets me draw breath in a larger, freer world."¹

Miss Bremer felt that fine arts had as yet received little encouragement in America, probably because the American people as a whole were not artistically inclined.² In most of the native painting and sculpture which she saw, she complained of a lack of great conceptions and of national themes. She praised the work of Hiram Powers, however, and especially his Geneva which seemed to her to embody American womanhood in spite of its unfitting name.³ Miss Bremer enjoyed the American theatre more than she did American painting and sculpture. She was enthusiastic over Fanny Kemble as a Shakespearean reader; she liked Charlotte Cushman, though she thought her too lacking in womanly gentleness for even the parts of Lady Macbeth and Meg Merillies; she was more moved by the young actress, Miss Julia D.,⁴ than she had been by anyone since she first heard Jenny Lind sing in the Stockholm theatre. Miss Bremer does not mention any American music except church hymns and negro folk songs, both of which she enjoyed greatly.

1. Bremer. op. cit., Vol. I, p. 31. "Alla låta de mig likväl känna en fläkt af den nya världens lif i ett visst obegränsadt, stort i syfte, i aning, i fordran, i tro och hopp; något som låter mig draga andan i en större, friare värld."

2. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 150.

3. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 151.

4. Probably Julia Dean who was twenty at the time and a very popular actress.

It is possible to go on giving in detail Miss Bremer's impressions of many other phases of American life, but there is not space for that in a study of this nature. We must content ourselves with a parting glance at her general conception of America. Miss Bremer saw the United States as a land with three principal divisions, the North, the South, and the West. The North, especially the region around Boston, was America's Attica. Through its lecturers, reformers, and teachers who went out to the West and the South, New England influenced the intellectual and spiritual life of all America. The South was kept far behind the North in culture by the unfortunate institution of slavery, but it was a region where fine individuals lived, lovable, picturesque, backward. The West took the strongest hold upon Miss Bremer's imagination, however. She saw it as a vast territory where new Americans were moulded from immigrants of many different countries, a place of unconventionality, of wild border fighting, of friendliness and openness, young, too busy to enjoy the sunlight yet, but America's hope and future. Such is America.

And the people - what are their characteristics? Miss Bremer thought of them as enterprising, ambitious, fearless of hindrances, optimistic, a people eager to get, but generous in their giving. After five months in the United States, she wrote that Americans were more beautiful

and more lovable than anything she had found elsewhere in the world.¹ This sentiment is echoed at the very end when Miss Bremer says that nowhere else had she found such friends.²

Miss Bremer attempted to study the ideals of the American people, and her findings, though detailed, are too interesting to omit from this study. The goals toward which the young nation is striving she lists as follows:

"Every human being shall be true to his individuality; he shall stand alone with God and --- act according to his convictions in his relation to the outer world.

"There is no virtue for one sex which is not virtue also for the other. Men should attain the purity of women in morality and behaviour.

"Woman shall have opportunity for the highest development which is compatible with her nature. Her intelligence shall have the same opportunity for cultivation and development as that of man. She shall possess the same right to seek freedom and happiness as he.

"Respect for work and the honourable wages of work should belong to all honest workers. All work is in itself honourable and should be so regarded.

"In the community that democratic movement shall

1. Bremer. op. cit., Vol. I, p. 149.

2. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 373.

rule which moves upward. Human beings will become just and good through just and good treatment. The good spirit will call forth the good spirit.

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"The community shall give to each of its members the best possible chance to develop his human faculties and to come into control of his human rights. This shall take place partly through laws ---, partly through public educational institutions - - -.

"The ideal of the community is reached in part through the individual's accomplishments in relation to his own ideal, in part through the free associations and institutions in which human beings stand in brotherly relationship to one another, and acquire an appreciation of the relationships between all people and of mutual responsibility.

"Everything for everyone is the true aim of the community."¹

1. Bremer. öps cit., Vol I, pp. 123 - 124.

"Hvar mensklig individ skall vara sannfärdig i sin egendomlighet ; stå allena med Gud och från denna innersta ståndpunkt handla utåt enligt sin öfvertygelse.

"Det gifves ingen dygd för det ena könet, som icke är dygd äfven för det andra. Männerna skola i seder och skick komma upp till kvinnans renhet.

"Qvinnan skall ega tillfälle till den högsta utveckling som är förenlig med hennes natur. Hennes intelligens skall ha lika tillfälle till odling och utveckling som mannens. Hon skall ega samma rättighet till frihet och sällhetens sökande som han.

"Arbetets heder och arbetets hederliga lön bör tillkomma alla hederliga arbetare. Allt arbete är i sig sjelf hederligt, och skall betraktas så.

Footnote continued on page 40.

Miss Bremer goes on to analyze the ideals of American men and women. The men, she says, strive for clean motives, firm will power, energetic action, simplicity and mildness of manner and person, and a certain tenderness and chivalry in relationship to women which Miss Bremer finds most charming.¹ The women would be independent in character, mild in manner. Their idea of happiness, like that of the men, is marriage, a home, civic duties, and, if possible, a trip to Europe.² Such are Miss Bremer's interpretations of American people and of America, the land where she found more romance and poetry than she had dreamed of finding, the land where life was "a new youth."³ We may close with her own words, written after she had taken leave of the New World, "And if any-one asks me wherein the people of the New World are ahead of the Old, I shall answer, with the impression of what

Footnote continued from page 39.

"I samhället skall råda den jemnlighetsrörelse som jemnar uppåt. Menniskan skall bli rättvis och god genom en rättvis och god behandling. Den goda anden skall kalla fram den goda anden.

 "Samhället skall ge hvarje sin medlem bästa möjliga tillfälle (chance) att utveckla sina mänskliga förmågor och att komma i besittning af sina mänskliga rättigheter. Detta skall ske dels genom lagar ---, dels genom allmänna uppfostringsanstalter ---.

"Samhällets ideal uppnås dels genom individens fulländning i förhållande till hans eget ideal, dels genom de fria föreningar och institutioner, i hvilka människorna träda i broderliga förhållanden till hvarandre och få känslan af allas solidariska förhållanden och ansvarighet inbördes.

"Allt för alla" är samhällets sanna mål."

1. Bremer. op. cit., Vol. I, p. 124.
2. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 125.
3. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 50. "en my ungdom."

I have seen and experienced in America fresh in my mind: in a clearer consciousness of the community's goal, a warmer heart-beat, a more energetic, youthful life."¹

Miss Bremer's interpretation of America is more complete, more solidly founded on fact than any other Scandinavian interpretation of the early nineteenth century, and yet it has, like the others, many faults. Enthusiasm has led to idealization, to exaggerated though perfectly sincere praise of America's good qualities. We must, of course, remember that the America Miss Bremer described is not the America of today, but the America of 1850, and that Miss Bremer, a distinguished visitor and a gentle old lady with a child-like eagerness to know and love the New World and its people, did not see much of the ugliness which does exist in America as well as in Europe. She visited slave quarters and prisons, it is true, but always in the company of men and women whose fineness made her forget the ugliness they showed her. Miss Bremer's interpretation of America is then unbalanced, lacking in true proportion.

1. Bremer. op. cit., Vol. II, p. 376.

"Och frågar man mig hvad den nya verldens folk har framför den gamlas, så svarar jag, med intrycket af hvad jag i Amerika sett och genomlevvat, friskt i min själ i ett klarare medvetande af samhällets mål, ett varmare hjertslag, ett mere energiskt, ungdomssterkt lif."

CARSTEN HAUCH.

Three years after Miss Bremer's visit to America appeared Robert Fulton, a historical novel by the Danish romanticist, Hohan Carsten Hauch. Hauch (1790 - 1871) was a dramatist, poet, and novelist, ranking in this latter field with Ingemann and Hans Christian Andersen, though he never attained the popularity of his two distinguished contemporaries. Among his novels Robert Fulton is generally considered one of the best. It presents Hauch's favorite theme, the struggle of a great personality for self-development. The story is founded on wide reading, though it is colored to some extent by Hauch's own imagination, and shows Hauch's usual fault of discursiveness. Everywhere the reader is forced to remember that the story was written by a Dane, for Hauch lets Fulton observe his own countrymen as though they were foreigners and stops constantly to interpret or describe American life. While these faults mar the plot, they do furnish interesting glimpses of Hauch's own conception of America.

Robert Fulton is especially notable for its gallery of American characters - Fulton, Franklin, Joel Barlow, Laura, Gray, and perhaps a dozen others. They are

mainly fictitious, but they show plainly Hauch's conception of the American people. The hero, Robert Fulton, is pictured as honest and fervently religious, a genius whose faults may be attributed to a society which does not understand him, and, for that reason, hinders his true development. He is noble and far-seeing, a sane critic of the life of his time. Franklin is Fulton's hero and protector - a wise, practical man, democratic, far-seeing, simple in his habits, kind and generous. Joel Barlow, too, is Fulton's protector and friend, a generous, enthusiastic young man, worldly-wise but full of good impulses. The fictitious characters are equally interesting - David Baxter, a kindly, honest mechanic; Jonathan Kemp, Methodist and religious fanatic, Thomas Milburn, a stern but honest Quaker; Lawyer Gray, wealthy, corrupt, a man who has mastered the art of breaking laws without danger of detection; Greenwood, slave holder and tyrant, a greedy, evil Southerner; John Bridle, young, honest, and ambitious, a man who rises from small inn-keeper to Senator; the Harrises, father and son, rough but kindly trappers who feel the steady urge to go West; Gehlmuyden, a Dutch immigrant who has grown wealthy in his foster-land, yet never tires of criticising it; Abigail, a Quakeress, patient, constant, quiet and womanly; Laura, a Southern beauty with a drop of negro blood, ambitious, materialistic,

willing to sell herself for money; Gill, the negro servant, faithful, ignorant, savage in his hatred of those who injure his mistress. These are the American characters in whose mingling of good and evil we see Hauch's conception of the American people.

Hauch's impression of the natural scenery of America is similar to that of Miss Bremer, Franzén, and Oehlenschläger. He writes of luxuriant vegetation, of brilliantly colorful autumn foliage, of abundant springs and mountain streams, of corn fields and orchards and neat new homes. He does not describe the prairie and the sod hut, however, as most Scandinavian writers have done. He writes instead of vast primeval forests and little log cabins, of small Pennsylvania towns where the crude buildings of the early colonists stand side by side with new brick houses. Philadelphia and New York are pictured as they were in the early nineteenth century - Philadelphia, a quiet, peaceful city of broad streets, still unlighted at night, and white marble buildings that glisten through the darkness; New York, America's London and Paris combined, a rapidly growing commercial center, a city where crime flourishes, where the rich come to spend their money, the poor to grow wealthy, the talented to win fame.

Hauch has comparatively little to say of American institutions. He mentions slavery as a vice deeply hated by such Americans as Fulton and Franklin, and speaks of the narrow prejudices existing withing the various sects of the American church. Milburn, the Quaker, is more pleasing than Kemp, the Methodist, for Milburn, in spite of his narrowness and sternness, has inner peace and deep reverence, but the most truly religious characters, Fulton and Franklin, stand outside of any denomination and hope that inter-denominational strife will some day cease.

American literature, music, and art are scarcely mentioned, though the list of characters include the poet, Joel Barlow, the painter, Benjamin West, and a noted singer, Laura Gray, who is, of course, a fictitious character. Hauch does, however, say that Barlow's Columbiad is regarded by Americans as their greatest poem.¹ He mentions, too, the fact that in America only negroes and mulattos can sing. On the whole, Hauch does not seem to disagree with his hero who feels that America needs, not painters and poets, but inventors, builders, breakers of new trails. He was, we must remember, writing of America in the years just following the Revolutionary War when, as Hauch himself says, the practical needs of the nation temporarily outweighed the

1. Hauch. Robert Fulton. p. 437. "The Columbiad by Joel Barlow, hvilket Amerikanerne betragte som deres bedste Digt - - - "

need for art and theoretical knowledge.¹

Hauch felt the romance in American life almost as much as Fredrika Bremer. Expressing himself partly through Fulton, who voices Hauch's own sentiments most of the time, he gives us his general interpretation of America. It is a big land, a land which can achieve national unity only by building bridges, making roads through the wilderness, and digging canals and tunnels, thus bringing the various parts of the country into close touch with each other. It is a land of freedom and democracy, a land where a poor mechanic may sit at table with Franklin, where an inn-keeper may become Senator. It is a land of people, practical, energetic, undemonstrative, lacking in imagination, self-controlled, people who, like Robinson Crusoe, go out into the wilderness to build homes under difficulties.

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If we glance back over these early nineteenth century interpretations of America, we notice a general similarity. All of the writers are optimistic; most of them idealize a nation about which they know very little. There is no severe criticism of America, and no real knowledge, except in the case of Fredrika Bremer. It is easy to see that America entered the literature of

1. Hauch. op. cit., pp. 41 - 42.

the period mainly because there was something very romantic about its newness and remoteness. It is not yet an integral part of Scandinavian life.

CHAPTER II.

THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The late nineteenth century was a transition period in Scandinavian literature, witnessing the close of the romantic movement and the beginning of realism. In Sweden and Denmark the golden age was drawing to an end. Many of the great romantic poets were still alive, but their followers were weak imitators, and by the last quarter of the century there was a strong opposition against the older school, led by Georg Brandes in Denmark, by Strindberg in Sweden. The work of these writers and of their followers firmly established the vogue of realism, though the movement did not attain full power till the next century.

While Danish and Swedish literature were thus passing through a temporary period of decline, Norwegian literature was entering upon its most notable period, that of Ibsen and Bjørnson, who continued the work of Wergeland and Welhaven in establishing a national literature. There the transition from romanticism to realism took place within one generation, Ibsen, Bjørnson, and Lie shifting from romantic to realistic writing some time in the seventies.

In this age of realism we may naturally expect less interest in America than was shown in the preceding half century. That is not the case, however, for references to America are increasingly frequent. There are at least two explanations - first, the fact that emigration, travel, and the press were lessening the distance across the Atlantic, making America a field for realistic rather than romantic treatment; second, the fact that many of the writers were critics and reformers interested in the social and political experiments of the United States. While interest in America had not decreased, a new note had entered into the interpretation of American life, a note of pessimism which is, however, not sounded by all writers. As a result the interpretation is partly like, partly unlike that of the early nineteenth century. To see this we need only examine a few typical pieces of literature written in the latter half of the century.

BJÖRCK.

Among the poems on America written in the late nineteenth century, Björck's Abraham Lincoln¹ is one of the most interesting. Ernst Daniel Björck (1838 - 1868) was a member of the "Namnlösa Sällskap"² at Upsala, an association of Swedish poets, continuators of the romantic tradition of Tegnér. Though he was the first member of this group to gain prominence, his work is marred by a weak, almost feminine fancy which prevents it from taking high rank. The poem, Abraham Lincoln, written in 1865 for a toast at a student celebration at Upsala, is, however, one of Björck's best. In its warm praise of freedom it is reminiscent of Wallin's George Washington. The poem is a cry of woe at Lincoln's death, mingled with praise of the great American statesman. Björck pictures humanity grown sober for a moment while the poets of two continents strike their lyres and the negro stands, childish tears streaming down his cheek. The closing stanza calls upon the Swedish students to pledge their youth to the cause of freedom, forgetting the small worries of the day in honouring Lincoln. As in Wallin's George Washington, the American

1. Björck. Valda Dikter. 1893. pp. 186 - 188.

2. "The Nameless Company."

president is described in phrases interesting in themselves - "kingly president", "king through powerful genius and noble heart", "saviour", "noble man", "knight without blame", "great friend of humanity", "praised by the voices of millions," "unconquered by any death."

Björck is as enthusiastic as Wallin - nay, more so, for, whereas Wallin saw Washington as America's great hero, Björck saw Lincoln as the possession of all mankind, a champion of freedom whose untimely death is a menace to the whole world. We are still in an age of idealization and optimism. Björck's poem belongs with the work of the earlier writers whom he was, indeed, following.

IBSEN.

In the same year as Björck wrote Abraham Lincoln, the great Norwegian dramatist, Ibsen, wrote a somewhat similar poem called Abraham Lincolns Mord.¹ Ibsen (1828 - 1906) has, besides this poem, four plays in which America is mentioned - Samfundets Støtter,² Peer Gynt, Fruen fra Havet,³ and En Folkefiende.⁴ All of these plays belong to his later, more realistic period.

Abraham Lincoln's Mord is not, like Björck's poem, a mere song of praise for an American champion of freedom. Ibsen was a philosopher and a critic. He had followed the American situation with keen eyes, and took this opportunity to interpret it. Scornfully he laughs at Europe, pale and frightened at a deed for which it had itself supplied example and seed. Deep in the history of Europe lie the roots of Lincoln's martyrdom. Why then this shocked amazement? With terrible pessimism Ibsen goes on to picture America's civilization built upon

1. Abraham Lincoln's Murder.
2. Pillars of Society.
3. The Lady from the Sea.
4. An Enemy of the People. In this play the reference to America is very unimportant, however.

old foundations from which noisome pestilences will inevitably rise, infecting the wholesome air. And there is no use in crying out, he says. Not till the demon of evil has done his very worst can the system be changed - and then comes doom. His only hopeful words for America's civilization are contained in the sixth stanza. He says,

"Where law sits on the point of a knife
And justice dwells on the gallow,
The victory of dawn is more sure and near,
Than here where we murder with words."¹

From the scattered references to America found in Ibsen's plays we are able to form some idea of the common conception of America in his day, though Ibsen's own interpretation is revealed only in a fragmentary fashion. To a few people the New World was still an ideal place where skies were broader, the air freer, and nature more beautiful than in the Old World.² Most people seem, however, to have thought of America as a

1. Ibsen. Abraham Lincolns Mord. Samlede Varker. Vol. XII, p. 96.

"Hvor loven sidder på knivens spids
Og retten på galgen bor,
er dagniggens sejr mer nær og viss,
end her, hvor der myrdes med ord."

2. Ibsen. Samfundets Støtter. Act. IV, p. 467.

land of wealth and opportunity, materialistic, immoral, unconventional, restless, a land of buffalos, Indians, and dangerous wild beasts. Peer Gynt grows wealthy in Charleston through trading in such varied commodities as slaves, Chinese idols, and Bibles; Mr. Cotton¹ is willing to do anything if there is profit in store, and the sailors in Samfundets Støtter are a noisy, quarrelsome lot. Ibsen himself seems to have seen the materialistic side of America. It is inconceivable that he would otherwise have created Mr. Cotton or sent Peer Gynt to Charleston for his rather questionable commercial ventures. Ibsen seems, too, to have realized that even in America success comes only after hard work. At least he lets Johan Tønnesen say so to Dina² - and Johan should know, for he has both experience and common sense. To Ibsen the New World was evidently not an ideal place, yet neither did he think it entirely bad. Two passages from Samfundets Støtter illustrate this. In the first one Dina is shown asking Johan about America.

"Dina. - - - But I wanted to know, too, if people over there are very - very moral, you know?

Johan. Moral?

Dina. Yes, I mean, are they as - as proper and well-behaved as they are here?

1. Peer Gynt.

2. Ibsen. Samfundets Støtter. Act II, p. 429.

Johan. Well, at any rate, they are not so bad as people here think. Don't be at all afraid of that.

Dina. You don't understand. What I want is just that they should not be so very proper and moral.

Johan. Indeed? What would you have them then?

Dina. I would have them natural.

Johan. Well, that is perhaps just what they are."¹

The second passage shows Konsul Bernick discussing the fortunes of his unmarried sister, Marta. She has food and shelter and enough money for clothing. What more could a single woman want? Johan answers, "H'm; that's not the way we think in America."²

There are doubtless other things Ibsen might have said, both good and bad. From these fragments we can, however, see that he was no idealist, hoping and believing all things good about America. He and his characters have more knowledge than earlier writers, and are hence more critical. Which is the wiser it would be difficult to say.

1. Ibsen. Samfundets Støtter. Act II, p. 429.

"Dina. Men det var det jeg vilde vide, om menneskene er meget - meget sådan moralske derover.

Johan Tønnesen. Moralske?

Dina. Ja, jeg mener, om de er sådan - anstændige og skikkelige, ligesom her.

Johan Tønnesen. Nå, de er ialfald ikke så slemme, som man her tror. De skulde de ikke være bange for.

Dina. De forstår mig ikke. Jeg vilde just gerne, at de ikke skulde være så meget anstændige og moralske.

Johan Tønnesen. Ikke det? Hvordan vilde De så de skulde være?

Dina. Jeg vilde de skulde være naturlige.

Johan Tønnesen. Ja, ja, det er kanske netop det, de er."

English translation by William Archer.

2. Ibsen. Samfundets Støtter. Act. II, p. 433.

BJØRNSON.

Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832 - 1910), the greatest Norwegian writer after Ibsen, has much to say of America in his stories, dramas, and articles. Bjørnson was intensely national, fighting fiercely for the foundation of a real Norwegian theatre, the freeing of Norway from Sweden, and the accomplishment of many social and political reforms. He escaped the fault of narrowness, however, for through wide travel and reading he made contacts with many other parts of the world. In 1880 he even visited America, as the guest of Ole Bull's widow and her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Thorpe. Bjørnson had, like Miss Bremer, longed to see the New World, and when his opportunity came he made the best of it. During the six months he spent in the United States, he was tireless in his study of American prisons and factories, social conditions and celebrities, literature and education. From September to early December he visited in Cambridge with Ole Bull's widow, but life there was too peaceful for him. Restlessly he went from Cambridge to New York and Chicago, starting, after the New Year, on a three month's lecture tour among the Scandinavian settlements of the Middle West. Everywhere Bjørnson was hailed with enthusiasm, and his tour would have been a long triumphal

procession, if the press had not published an unfortunate statement of Bjørnson's to the effect that he was a free-thinker in religious matters and did not believe that Christ was God. This remark aroused a bitter storm of religious controversy both in America and in the Scandinavian countries, which naturally detracted from the pleasure of Bjørnson's last months in the United States. It is interesting to note that Bjørnson himself remained unembittered. He was still able, after his visit, to speak of America as a land where radical thinkers might find peace,¹ and his enthusiasm for the republican government and social reforms of the United States remained unchanged to the end.

Bjørnson's impressions of America were published in a series of articles and letters in Dagbladet, one of the large Christiania newspapers, and in Skandinaven, republikansk tidsskrift for Nordens enhet.² There are also continual references to America in Bjørnson's plays and stories, both those belonging to his early romantic period and those belonging with his later realistic work. In general, however, the stories written after Bjørnson's return from the United States are richest in references to America.

1. Bjørnson. Fyrstik Streiket. (The Match Strike). 1889.

2. Scandinavia, republican journal for the unity of the North. These articles have, unfortunately, never been reprinted, and are now unavailable except for a fragment of one of the American letters printed in Artikler og Taler. (Articles and Speeches) 2 vols. 1912.

If we exclude the articles which are now unavailable, we find that Bjørnson's interpretation of America, like Ibsen's, is left us only in fragments though the fragments are larger, enabling us to see in a fairly clear manner what this man thought of the New World. Through the conversation of Bjørnson's characters we also catch a glimpse of the common conception of America as a land of wealth and opportunity, vast, remote, restless, and extravagant, a romantic place where Indians and Mormons live. This picture agrees essentially with the one Ibsen draws, except that Ibsen mentions also materialism and immorality. Bjørnson himself seems to have thought of America as a land of much gold, and this is only natural, for he was writing with fresh memories of the California gold rush. He seems, too, to have been impressed by the American people - their democracy, their intelligence, their hospitality, and resoluteness. He compares the governor of Massachusetts, who sits down beside a criminal prisoner, to a Swedish king who did not even invite a nobleman whose hospitality he had accepted to sit down beside him;¹ he writes of American factory workers who read the newspapers,² of cheap editions which bring good literature within the reach of the poor man,³ of restaurant keepers who refuse payment for food.⁴ Bjørnson

1. Bjørnson. *Privatbrev. Dagbladet*, January 15, 1881. No. 12.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Bjørnson. *Magnhild*. p. 85.

4. Bjørnson. *Privatbrev. Dagbladet*, January 15, 1881. No. 12.

praises American factories and American prisons, American schools and American government. He speaks of excellent courses in physiology, of short working hours and fine machinery, of simple, happy home life. He mentions, too, America's work for world peace, begun by Penn and the Quakers, and the respect with which honest immigrants are treated. The Civil war he interprets as a war against the polygamy which accompanies slavery, saying "World history has no greater example of a war for a moral principle, or of a peace which restrained itself strictly to that."¹ Prohibition is almost the only thing which Bjørnson refers to without enthusiasm!

Bjørnson's interpretation of America is, in many respects similar to that of Miss Bremer. Like her he was aware of such evils as "sweat shops" and slavery, yet saw beyond them to something very fine and fresh and wholesome. His America is not as ideal as hers, but it is still a land of hope.

1. Bjørnson. Enegifte Og Mangegifte. (Monogamy and Polygamy). Speech made Nov. 13, 1887. "Verdenshistorien ejer intet større Vidnesbyrd om Krig for et moralsk Princip, eller om en Fredsslutning, som strengt holdt sig aleve til det."

KIELLAND AND LIE.

Jonas Lie (1883 - 1908) and Alexander Kielland (1849 - 1906) are probably the two most important Norwegian contemporaries of Ibsen and Bjørnson, Kielland writing realistic stories of the middle class and Lie doing for the fisher folk what Bjørnson had done for the peasant in stories which were at first romantic, later realistic. Both writers make frequent references to America in their novels.

Jonas Lie thought of the United States as a land of wealth and opportunity. It was a place from which rich tourists came to spend summer after summer traveling or visiting European resorts, a place where poor immigrants grew wealthy, where failures and misfits found new life. Not that Lie thought the path to riches always short and easy! No, he saw the difficulties, but he ~~too~~, saw the successes~~too~~. America was a land of democracy and equality, a place where an honest mechanic won the respect of his fellow men. To it poor immigrants flocked, lured by the golden pictures of agents who led them they knew not where. They were like trees pulled up by the roots to be planted again in strange soil, these immigrants. Very different they were from the American tourists who travelled on the same steamers with them -

rich, well dressed, leisurely, inconsiderate of others. Different they were, too, from the ordinary native American with his business, his bustle and haste.

Lie's novel, Lodsen og hans Hustru,¹ is famous for its description of an American freighter, The Stars and Stripes, a beautiful boat, but a terrible one. Salve, the hero of Lodsen og hans Hustru, is taken on board against his will at Rio de Janiero and is unable to escape for a year and a half. The boat is infected with yellow fever, but the officers skillfully escape detection at every port, and care so little for the life of a common sailor that they lock Salve into a room where one has already died. The officers wear fine uniforms and are well armed. The crew, however, consists of a motley group of English, Irish, German, and American sailors with a half dozen negroes to do the most unpleasant work. They are the scum of the Charleston and New Orleans wharves, men with hard, evil faces who swear terribly, fight with iron bars, and only laugh when a comrade receives rough treatment. All of them are worked like dogs, but especially the negroes. There is no discipline. Only the strong man is able to survive such a life as Salve is forced to live, and even he could not survive long.

1. The Pilot and his Wife.

Kielland thought America a place of more opportunity, of better living conditions than Norway, but he realized, too, that Americans worked for whatever they had. Their capitalists were not given to brotherly division of profits. They paid their workers, but they knew what they paid for, too. In America women were given opportunity for useful employment. Rachel in Garman and Worse is sent to the Paris office of a large American firm where she may find the independence she longs for. She meets with kind, cultured people who treat her with respect and consideration.

Both Kielland and Lie are past the stage of easy, optimistic idealization. They see good in America, but they see faults also. Not for nothing have they lived in an age of travel and immigration which bring America to Europe's doorstep.

STRINDBERG

America is mentioned frequently in the writings of Sweden's great realist, August Strindberg (1840 - 1912), who shows bitterness, gloom, and pessimism in his treatment of America, as of everything else. Strindberg, like the other writers of the period, saw America as a vast, remote land of wealth and opportunity; but Strindberg saw this wealth unfairly concentrated in the hands of the Vanderbilts and Astors and so small in quantity that, if divided equally among the inhabitants of Europe and America, no man would get more than a pittance.¹ For the condition of democracy in America he has much criticism. He says, "If America's discovery has given nothing else to the world, the great political and economical experiments which have been attempted from time to time in the new land, and the social problems which have there been solved, have made the greatest and most valuable contributions to human knowledge; but he proceeds to list these contributions as the conquest of

1. Strindberg. Utopier. p. 55.

2. Strindberg. Kulturhistoriska Studier. (Studies in the History of Culture) p. 84. "Om Amerikas upptäckande icke tillskyndat mänskligheten andra fördelar, så ha dock de stora politiskekonomiska försök, som i det nya landet tid efter annan utförts och de sociale uppgifter, som där blivit lösta, givit folkvetenskapen de största och värdefullaste bidrag."

the flourishing state of Mexico by a little band of adventurers, the rooting out of the strong Indian tribes by civilized farmers who cut down the forests and drove away the animals on which the Indians depended for food, the emancipation of the unintelligent negro, and the attempted solution of the Chinese immigration problem.¹

Strindberg seems to object to the cruelty and oppression of slavery, but he has little respect for the slave or his emancipators. The negro, he says, is an excellent muscular machine, but uncivilized and no more intelligent than a European idiot. He should, like lunatics and criminals, be excluded from the ballot. The American people, however, discovered that he was a human being, and, in their simplicity, gave him full citizenship. This they did to satisfy the sentimental and romantic notions of women, though there were probably important political reasons in the background. Meanwhile the tender-hearted philanthropists looked on undisturbed at the oppression of the Indian! It would have been much better, Strindberg says, to forbid slave traffic and place the negro in a servant class where he would be treated as a child in such matters as corporal punishment.²

1. Strindberg. Kulturhistoriska Studier. p. 84.

2. Strindberg. Likt och Olikt, (Like and Unlike). Vol. II, pp. 119 - 120.

As for the "yellow peril", Strindberg only laughs at the Americans who fear the civilized man of the East, at the gold-diggers who call him a dangerous heathen, at the whisky-drinkers who shudder at his habit of taking opium. The real peril, Strindberg says, will come in two hundred years when the Chinese, emancipated by sentimental women, enter Congress with a heritage of hatred.¹ Meanwhile, exclude them from America by all means. They are dangerous.

Freedom, Strindberg says, has in America become anarchistic tyranny with rulers who change from year to year.² Might makes right there, in practice if not in theory, and the Swedish immigrants who come from Europe with fine ideas about the rights of the weaker class learn with difficulty the American method of taking all one can get and the American motto, "Go on, and the others will be frightened."³ In America more than in Europe is felt the tyranny of the masses.⁴ Strindberg admired the American government for its efforts toward the establishment of world peace, however, and seemed to think

1. Strindberg. Kulturhistoriska Studier, (Studies in the History of Culture), p. 92.

2. Strindberg. Tjänstekvinnans Son, (The Son of a Servant) Vol. II, p. 175.

3. Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 175 - 176.

4. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 39.

there was hope for Europe if America with its twenty nationalities, its Chinese and Japanese, its negroes and Indians could remain an entity.¹

In America the emancipation of women has gone farther than in Europe, Strindberg says, partly because the men are held back by the democratic spirit which destroys every outbreak of originality, partly because all the lower types of Europeans have flocked to America, forming a heterogeneous population into which women are easily assimilated.² Strindberg, however, praises the freedom which English and American girls are given, saying that it is less dangerous than the cloistered seclusion in which French girls are kept.³ The scene of Hans Piga,⁴ one of the stories in Giftas,⁵ is laid in Brooklyn, though the action might easily have taken place somewhere else. The characters are a man who lives in a boarding house to keep his wife from becoming his maid, and his wife, an emancipated woman who spends her time at cards, concerts, and discussions of women's rights. Idle and discontented, she finally tries

1. Strindberg. Utopier. p. 220.

2. Strindberg. Likt och Olikt. Vol. II, p. 133.

3. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 114.

4. His Maid.

5. Marriage.

housekeeping, but she continues rebelling at her position of servitude. In the end the husband shows her bills which prove that her debt to him is far greater than she can pay.

Strindberg treats various other phases of American life. Prohibition he approves, saying that Americans in "dry" states do not seem to mind living with people who are always sane.¹ American methods of medical study he seems to like also,² and he speaks without condemnation of the immense American farms with their rich virgin soil.³ The American press is not one of Strindberg's joys, however. He refers to the revolver press with its puffing advertisements and the reptile press with its boughten abuse as importations from America and Prussia.⁴

Strindberg has little to say of American literature, but he has an interesting passage on the new American humorists whose acquaintance is made by Johan, the hero of Tjänstekvinnans Son. Since Johan represents Strindberg himself the passage is worth quoting. "American

1. Strindberg. Likt och Olikt. Vol. II, p. 116.

2. Strindberg. Tjänstekvinnans Son. Vol. I, p. 302.

3. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 272.

4. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 109.

humorists began to be translated and seem to have struck some highstrung chords in the hearts of his contemporaries. The public accepted their jokes as jokes, but Johan took them seriously - for they were serious. They treated and analyzed everything from a modern standpoint, and, consequently, everything was bosh! The American's sense for the real had discovered the real import of life in the struggle for existence; purified from all hallucinations, all ideals, and all romanticism, he understood the relative nothingness of life and the absolute nothingness of heaven, and he smiled a broad smile at the whole old civilization. Neither rank, nor greatness, nor talent, nor wealth could fool him into admiration: nothing old, nothing of the past inspired him with reverence. Napoleon and Washington, Michael Angelo and Beecher Stowe were treated as saloon cronies; revolution and reaction, reformation and renaissance were movements only, whether backward or forward did not matter; neither the subjugated woman nor the subjugated negro drew tears from anybody; the newspaper press, from which these authors had emanated, was treated with the same contempt as any other business; dogmas and art theories, contributions to the lynch laws, were all taken in a lump; no regard for personality existed; the faith in court justice and the love for the common

weal were blown away to be replaced by the pocket revolver. It was the portent of that anarchy of thought which was to burst forth later on, it was the balance sheet of the old view of the world, the beginning of the demolition."¹

1. Strindberg. Tjänstekvinnans Son. Vol. II, pp. 108-109.

"Amerikanska humorister började nu översättas och måtte ha slagit an några väl spända strängar hos samtidens människor. Allmänheten tog deras skämt som skämt, men Johan tog dem på allvar, ty det var allvar. Där var alting behandlat och skärskadat fram nutidsståndpunkt, och följaktligen blev allt bosch! Amerikanarens realsinne hade i kampen för tillvaron genomskadat livets sanna betydelse; rensad från alla hallucinationer, alla ideal och all romantik, insåg han livets relativa och himlens absoluta intighet, och nu log han ett brett löje över hela den gamla kulturen. Varken reng, storket, talang eller rikedom avnarrade honom någon beundran; intet förflutet, gammalt ingav honom aktning. Napoleon och Washington, Michel Angelo och Beecher Stowe behandlades som krogkamrater; revolution och reaktion, reformation och renässans voro bara rörelser, likgiltigt om fram eller tillbaka; den förtryckta kvinnan och den förtryckta negern avlockade icke några tårar; tidningspressen, ur vilken dessa författare utgått, behandlades med samma förakt som varje annan affär; dogmer och konstteorier, grundlagar och lynchlagar, allt togs över en kam; aktningar för personlig tillvaro fanns där ej; tron på domstolerättvisa och kärleken för allmänt väl var bortblåst och ersattes av fickrevolvern. Det var förbudet till den tankens anarki, som sedan skulle slå ut, det var bokslutet med den gamla världsåskådningen, nerrivningsarbetets begynnelse"

English translation from the Dial, 56: 300.

Strindberg is clearly seeing America through dark glasses, and yet he is seeing it as a real land not unlike Sweden, Norway, France, or England. In this respect he is far past the age of Franzén and Oehlschläger.¹

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References to America in the Scandinavian literature of the late nineteenth century are many and varied - as varied as Bjørnson and Ibsen, Strindberg and Björck. There is optimism; there is pessimism; and there is a mixture of both. Greater and greater, however, grows the tendency to criticize America, to recognize its failings, to put away illusions concerning its democratic new life. The severe criticisms of Strindberg and Ibsen are not unexpected, for these were men in whom pessimism was deeply rooted, but, when Kielland and Lie also see faults, we realize that the realistic movement, travel, and immigration have done their work. America is no longer a mere romantic dream. It is reality, and a reality not so very unlike the continent of Europe.

1. Strindberg's admiration for the American writer, Poe, contrasts strangely with his general dislike of America. The subject of his relationship to Poe is discussed by Miss Margery Day in her thesis, The Literary Kinship of Strindberg and Poe, written at the University of Kansas in 1926.

The early nineteenth century writers found it necessary to write a play, a poem, or a novel on America when they would mention the New World. Not so the later writers! Strindberg and Ibsen, Bjørnson and Lie have not written separate books on America, but they refer to it constantly and casually as a common topic of conversation and an important factor in the lives of the Scandinavian people. In a sense, America has become part of the life of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

CHAPTER III.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

Scandinavian literature of the twentieth century shows the continued influence of the realistic movement, and of its leader, Brandes, who continued writing till his death in 1927. Though the older generation of realists passed away in the first decade of the century, the last years have not lacked great names. Norway has had its Knut Hamsun and Johan Bojer, Sweden its Selma Lagerlöf and Gustaf Fröding, Denmark Henrik Pontoppidan and Martin Andersen Nexø.

While the nineteenth century was preeminently an age of poetry and drama, the twentieth century has witnessed the development of the novel. This form has not yet attained the excellence of its French and Russian models, but we must remember that the period of development is not yet over. Only the future can show what is to be the culmination of the present realistic movement in the Scandinavian countries. Already there are the stirrings of something new, especially in the strikingly original work of Selma Lagerlöf.

As the literature of the twentieth century continues the realistic trends of the preceding period,

so the twentieth century interpretation of America is only a development of the earlier interpretation, showing, as it does, a recognition of America's weaknesses, combined, however, with increased knowledge and sympathy. The writers of the period, like the writers of the previous half century, mention America freely and casually. It is to them, as to their predecessors, an important and very real part of Scandinavian life.

KNUT HAMSDUN.

Among twentieth century interpreters of America, Knut Hamsun is one of the most interesting. Though his first and most complete treatment of America¹ really belongs to the preceding half century, Hamsun himself is one of the younger generation, and, as a matter of convenience, all of his writings have been considered together. Hamsun is not one of the saner critics of America. He is one-sided, superficial, unjust. However, there is a grain of truth in what he says; hence the sting.

Knut Hamsun (1860 -) spend his early years as a wandering jack-of-all-trades with literary ambitions. Disappointed by life in Christiania, the capital and literary center of Norway, which he reached after much wandering, Hamsun took passage to America, where he intended to become a Unitarian minister, but became, instead, street-car conductor, grocery clerk, and farm-hand. American life was not to his liking, however, and, after bitter months of struggling for bare existence, he turned back to Christiania, hoping again to gain an entrance into literary circles. For a year he managed

1. Hamsun. Fra det moderne Amerikas Aandsliv. 1889.
(Of Modern American Culture)

to keep alive by newspaper work and lecturing, but the struggle here, too, was bitter and disappointing. Discouraged, he returned to America in the fall, 1886.

Hamsun's second stay in America was no more successful than the first. As before, he was forced to do hard manual labor with lecturing as an occasional variation. Convinced that his future did not lie in America, Hamsun returned to Norway, publishing almost immediately his little volume, Fra det moderne Amerikas Aandsliv (1889). This witty but bitter attack upon American culture marks Hamsun's entrance into literature. It was followed, a year later, by Sult,¹ a novel which won fame for Hamsun overnight. Since then his position in Norwegian and in world literature has been assured by the publication of many fine volumes. In 1920 Hamsun won the Nobel Prize for literature.

Though Hamsun wrote five short stories with American settings and several novels and sketches containing references to America, his most complete- and most bitter - attack upon the United States is contained in his first volume, Fra det moderne Amerikas Aandsliv. To this book we must turn, if we would see his entire interpretation of America.

1. Hunger.

The most noticeable characteristic of American life is, Hamsun says, noisy haste, restless hurry and scurry. This trait is developed by the bitter struggle for existence; it is an outgrowth of life in a settler's community where every day is moving day.¹

Materialism is almost as noticeable as restlessness, for in America aristocracy is founded upon money and everything is valued according to its cost. Hamsun writes of the American people, "Figures and statistics form the kernel of all their transactions; figures and statistics enter even into the minister's sermons."² America has great business men, inventors, and speculators, but that is scarcely to her credit. Any nation in which the united forces of sixty million people are concentrated upon the attainment of purely material prosperity can do what America has done.³ Its proficiency in advertising itself, its ever-recurring boast of the colossal is only another sign of its absorption in the material.⁴

Hamsun criticized America for its lack of liberty. He says, "In America people do not distinguish between freedom and democracy; in order to preserve a compact democracy they willingly sacrifice freedom."⁵

1. Hamsun. Fra det moderne Amerikas Aandsliv. pp. 1-4.

2. Ibid., p. 28. "Tal og Statistik udgør Kernen i alle deres Forhandlinger, Tal og Statistik driver endog ind i Præsternes Prækener."

3. Hamsun. op. cit., pp. 25-31.

4. Ibid., p. 25, pp. 244-247.

5. Ibid., p. 182. "Der skælnes ikke i Amerika mellem Frihed og Demokrati; forat opretholde et kompakt Demokrati, offerer man gerne friheden."

What freedom there is, is not for the individual, but en masse and for all, enforced by laws of Congress and by public opinion.¹

One of America's most prominent traits is patriotism, a blind, unblinking patriotism, as loud-voiced as it is violent, which keeps the people saying, "There is no such freedom, no such development, no such progress, and no such intelligent people on earth as in the land, America."² Growing out of this patriotism and yet, in a way, causing it, is America's supreme ignorance of other peoples, an ignorance which extends through all ranks and classes. America wants to be independent and self-sufficient. Because it has people enough, it thinks it has culture enough, and closes its doors to all foreign stimulus, the very thing it needs if it is ever to develop. Patriotism leads also to prejudice against all foreigners except the English. Already immigration is being restricted though America's manual labor would not be done without the immigrant. Americanization takes place quickly just because the foreigner cannot long endure the disrespect which is shown him. This should not be a source of pride for the American people, though they regard it as such.³

1. Hamsun. op. cit., pp. 178 - 181.

2. Ibid., p. 7. "Der er ingen slig Frihed, ingen slig Udvikling, intet sligt Fremskridt og ingen slige intelligente mennesker paa Jorden som i det Land, Amerika."

3. Hamsun. op. cit., pp. 7 - 19.

American education costs more than it is worth, Hamsun says. Arithmetic is the only course taught daily, and world history and world geography are utterly neglected. Dogmas are drilled into the children at every opportunity, though the public school system is supposedly free from all religious instruction. It would, of course, be a miracle if the American people were well educated, when material prosperity is sought first and education is left till one has plenty of money - and no desire to learn. However, American education could be much improved, if emphasis were laid upon depth and thoroughness rather than upon breadth and variety.¹

The church system in America is more lively, more active than one would expect, perhaps because the people feel that they must recompense in some way for their materialism. However, in spite of the many fine churches, there is little real religion. The sermons consist of Boston morality toned down to suit a silk-clad congregation. They are interesting lectures, full of jokes, but they entertain rather than develop. The people are active churchgoers, but for ulterior motives. To them regular church attendance is merely a good business policy. On the whole we may say that the church in America has grown worldly in order to fit into a

1. Hamsun. op. cit., pp. 7-8, pp. 195 - 205.

materialistic society.¹

Hamsun has little respect for America's morality which, he says, is based upon money.² A rich man does not need to behave; a poor man must. There is no justice. Those who have committed great frauds have the admiration and sympathy of the public and easily bribe their judges. Crime itself is on a lower scale than in Europe - coarse, unreasoning, simple.³

In America women have the ruling power. By law and by custom they have been made a privileged class.⁴ A genuine American woman is, however, a very useless creature. She has no house to care for, no husband to help, no children to educate. Her mission in life is, she thinks, to have nerves, to paint works of art, to enjoy negro poetry, to take walks and go to meetings. She does not rise above America's ordinary moral level, but neither does she go far below it. That seems to be all that matters.⁵

1. Hamsun . op. cit., pp. 208 - 216.

2. Ibid., pp. 216 - 217.

3. Ibid., pp. 188-194.

4. Ibid., pp. 219 - 221.

5. Ibid., pp. 222 - 225.

American etiquette is practically non-existent. There is complete lack of courtesy, of conventionality, of harmony. Every man does as he will.¹

Hamsun has much to criticize in American literature. Our bookstores, libraries, and magazines he treats with the utmost contempt. They cater to a public which cares only for General Grant's Memoirs and Longfellow's poetry, detective stories and patriotic nonsense. American literature itself is prudish and old-fashioned, modelled on Dickens and Scott, Milton and Longfellow. It can not possibly develop till Americans cease regarding their own land as the one possessing the richest culture in the world, and begin to seek the stimulus which comes from contact with foreign literature. Hamsun analyzes the weaknesses of our literature. He says, "American literature is hopelessly unreal and talentless. It has love and revolver shots, but it has not the movement of life, it is without life's red fulness, it lacks emotion."² From this sweeping condemnation he excludes the work of Mark Twain and part of the work of Poe, Hawthorne, and Harte. Hamsun continues,

1. Hamsun. op. cit., pp. 222-236.

2. Ibid., pp. 52-53. "Amerikas Literatur er trøstesløs talentfattig. Den har Kærlighed og revolverskud, men den har ikke Livets eget drivende Liv, den er uden Livets røde Fylde, den mangler Sindsbevægelse.

"It (American literature) does not make an impression, it is too little earthy, it talks too much and feels too little; it has too much romance and too little reality; it does not describe, it celebrates in songs, talks with eyes turned heavenward, trifles with virtue and Boston morality, preaches, lectures, puts morocco bindings about a faultless troth and a heroic Indian couple."¹ American literature is more than half poor poetry. That is one reason for its lack of vitality.

From this analysis of American literature Hamsun passes to a rather extensive critical study of Whitman and of Emerson. Whitman, he says, is not a folk poet as some have called him, for he lacks simplicity and the primitive element in his emotion is greater than that of the people. His originality consists of long lists of names, columns and regiments of words which give to his poetry a certain tumultuous force but not quiet strength. His language reminds one of an Indian war dance, and is as tasteless and naive as his realism. Whitman might, with intelligent education have become a little Wagner, for his ear is sensitive and his genius

1. Hamsun. op. cit., pp. 52-53. "Den gør ikke Indtryk, den er for lidet jordisk, den prater for meget og følger for lidet; den har for meget Digteri og for lidet Realitet; den skildrer ikke, den besynger, taler med himmelvendte Øjne, puser med Dyd og Bostonmoral, præker, formaner, sætter Moroccobind om en ubrødelig Troskab og et indiansk Heltepar."

musical. In America, however, he became a changeling, half primitive, half modern, a poet who wrote verses which require at least twice as much inspiration on the part of the reader as on the part of the writer.¹

Emerson Hamsun calls America's most distinguished thinker, its finest aesthete, its most original writer, adding, however, that in America this does not mean much. Hamsun sees Emerson as a critic with Unitarianism as the basis for all his criticism, and a gift of saying things as his chief talent. His weakness lies in his undeveloped psychological and moral sense.²

The American press is, Hamsun thinks, the most powerful and original organ of expression among the American people. It is coarse, violent, full of scandal, pistol shots, and fist fighting, but it does represent the interests and activities of the American people as their literature does not.³

The American people are neither artistic nor art-loving. They have money for art; therefore they buy it. Their own productions, however, are prudish and lacking in life.⁴

1. Hamsun. op. cit., pp. 64 - 85.

2. Ibid., pp. 85 - 128.

3. Ibid., pp. 36 - 52.

4. Ibid., pp. 131 - 151.

America's theatre is farther advanced than either its painting or sculpture. There have been such great American actors as the tragedian, Kean,¹ and the American stage has developed rapidly in the direction of realism. However, its stage still lacks finer art; its drama is poorly constructed; and the people as a whole prefer a good farce played by noisy Irish comedians. The American theatre, like American literature and art, shows need of more true artistic spirit.²

Hamsun himself sums up his impression of America in his closing words, "A world of roar and steam and great, groaning stamping machines; a kingdom of that world, with people from all zones, from the white of the North, to the apes and spiritual mulattoes of the tropics; a land with smooth, fertile soil and peaceful wildernesses.

"And black sky - - - ." ³

1. The writer has been unable to discover to which Kean Hamsun referred.

2. Hamsun. op. cit., pp. 157 - 177.

3. Ibid., p. 255. "en Verden av Skraal og Damp og store stønnende Stempelmaskiner; et Rige af den Verden, med Folk fra alle Zoner, fra Nordens Hårde til Tropens Abér og Aandsmulatter; et Land med blød, Gødet Mådjord og fredede Urmarker.

"og sort Himmel - - -."

The interpretation of America in Hamsun's short stories, novels, and sketches is similar to that in Fra det moderne Amerikas Aandsliv. He speaks again of materialism, restless haste, discrimination against foreigners, low standards of morality. Hamsun does, however, contribute one new thing, a picture of life on the prairie as he knew it more than a generation ago. It is, on the whole, a rather terrible picture of vast, profitable wheat farms where hundreds of men work from morning to night during the hot summer months with only a pitifully short interval of rest at night. Drugged by weariness, they sink to an almost animal level of existence, caring for nothing except rest, caring not even for the food which they must gulp down in order to have enough strength for the next day's labor. They are men of many different races and nationalities, hardened and roughened by the life they lead, transients who go from wheat fields to lumber camps, from lumber camps to wheat fields. Only when they are paid off do these men awaken from their coma. Then they troop to the ugly little prairie towns to spend their wages in the saloons and gambling houses. Their lawlessness and riotousness are vividly pictured. Contrasted with the dull lives of these men, we have the prairie itself - endless, powerful, a rolling, golden sea of wealth. The picture is, indeed, splendid as well as terrible.

Though there is some truth in what Hamsun says, his interpretation of America is not just. He was too much of a pessimist where Miss Bremer was too optimistic, too cruel where she was too kind. We must, of course, remember that he was writing of America as it seemed to him more than a generation ago. Doubtless his judgment would in some ways have been different, had he been writing of the America of today.

Ibsen and Strindberg, the two writers of the preceding century who wrote unfavourable criticism of the United States, were pessimistic by nature. They looked with cautious eyes at everything that received the general praise and acclaim of their countrymen. In Hamsun's case, unpleasant personal experiences doubtless influenced him in his unfavorable interpretation of America. But was there also a deeper cause? Professor Josef Wiehr gives his answer to this question in his study of Hamsun. He says, "The experiences of Hamsun in the United States explain only in part his severe verdict upon American culture. If he had met here with eminent success instead of dismal failure, he might have been perhaps a little more tolerant in his judgment. But in its essence it would have remained the same, because of Hamsun's general attitude towards human values."¹

1. Wiehr. Knut Hamsun. His Personality and his Outlook upon Life. Smith College Studies in Modern Languages. Vol. III, Nos. 1 - 2, Oct., 1921 - Jan, 1922. p.9.

JOHAN BOJER.

Johan Bojer (1872 -), like Bjørnson, writes stories of Norwegian peasant boys who battle against circumstances, meeting sometimes defeat, sometimes victory. In so doing, he utilizes experiences from his own youth, when he was, like his heroes, a fisherman and farm laborer with eager passion for knowledge. He began his career as an author, writing at night after days spent over uncongenial tasks, but has, since his first successful publications in eighteen-ninety-four and five, been able to devote his entire time to study, travel, and writing.

Bojer, like Bjørnson, refers to America frequently in his novels because it is an important factor in the lives of the Norwegian peasants about whom he is writing. He also has one novel, Vor Egen Stamme¹, which treats the problem of emigration from the Norwegian point of view. Bojer did not feel adequately prepared for the writing of this novel. He had seen emigrants come and go, but had never been one himself, for his only visit to America had been made in nineteen-twenty and twenty-one as an already well-known writer. Feeling the need of further experience, Bojer made a second visit to

1. Our own Lineage. English title The Emigrants. (1924).

America in 1923, studying conditions in the Scandinavian settlements of the Middle West by doing farm work there for some months. With this preparation, he returned to Norway to write the epic of the Norse settlers on the American prairie.

Bojer's books give us two interpretations of America, that of the Norwegian people who stay at home and that of the emigrant. The first class see America as a remote land, vast and wealthy. From it rich emigrants return, dressed like lords, carrying golden watches, and smoking steadily. America is a land of opportunity - a place where one may make a fresh start in life. So many have gone there because of disgrace or shame, or failure that Morten in Vor Egen Stamme laughs scornfully when emigration is first suggested to him. He hasn't done enough wrong to need to go there yet, has he? America is not only a land where one may find riches and a fresh start in life. It is also a place where education is free, where one can sweep chimneys and go to night school, study for the ministry and work for board and room. It is a place of technical marvels where everything is done on a vast scale, a land of equality without state church, without taxes, without unjust concentration of wealth, a place where every comer is given a piece of fertile land and a chance to vote. America is still an ideal to many of these people, largely, as Bojer shows, because

the emigrant is too proud and too kind to shatter the air-castles of those who have stayed at home.

The emigrant, however, sees America in another light. To him it is a place of opportunity, but of opportunity which comes only through hard work. Bojer pictures particularly the life of the early settlers on the prairie - the bitterly cold winters, the hot summers, the dangers from drought, fire, grasshoppers, and hail storms, the hardships, the loneliness. The life of these early settlers is much harder than that of a peasant in Norway, yet it is full of compensations. There is ultimate prosperity and there is romance - the romance of beginning life anew, of conquering the prairie, of building up new communities in the heart of the wilderness. Bojer's emigrants do not lose all their illusions. They find social equality, and opportunity for education, and, later, a chance to take part in the government of a new land. Growing wise enough to see that America is by no means perfect, they are yet unable to find satisfaction in their old life in Norway. They have, through their struggle with the prairie, become Americans.

Bojer, like Hamsun, pictures prairie towns as ugly little places, full of saloons and lawlessness, places quite unlike the prairie with its majestic sweep, its

power, its wealth, its endlessness. In other details Hamsun and Bojer differ, however. Both write of the prairies in the Red River Valley, but Bojer shows the romance and hardships of the early settlers who come there with their families to build homes, Hamsun the ugliness and monotony of life among rough men who drift from farm to farm in regions where no women would live. The pictures are almost totally unlike. Hamsun's is colored by his dislike of America, Bojer's by the optimism of his later period, and evidently neither exact locality nor time can be the same. Which is the truer interpretation of American life it would be difficult to say. Hamsun has first hand knowledge, but Bojer has sympathy, which is better. He might have known more had he been a native American, but he could not have been more fair.

RÖLWAAG.

Rölwaag's Giants in the Earth forms an interesting study in connection with Bojer's Vor Egen Stamme. The two books are very similar. Both treat the life of a group of Scandinavian settlers on the prairie - the dangers, the hardships, the compensations. Even the incidents often correspond; in each a character goes insane from the endlessness of the prairie, a heroic journey is made on skees through the winter snow in an effort to save a life, a band of Indians comes to visit an old grave mound while most of the men are away, and the birth of a child, the beginning of a school, and the coming of the first minister are the important events in the history of the community. The two books were written at the same time by two very different men. Johan Bojer was a Norwegian who had seen America only as a visitor. Ole Edvart Rölwaag (1876 -) was a Norwegian also, but he had emigrated to America at the age of twenty and lived himself on the South Dakota prairie about which he writes. Realizing after three years that life as a farmer was not to his liking, Rölwaag worked his way through St. Olaf College (Northfield, Minnesota), and, after a year of graduate study in Norway, became a member of the faculty at his Alma Mater. At

present he holds the chair of Norwegian literature at that institution.

Rølvaag has published six novels, four text books on Norwegian language and literature, and one volume of essays, all except his last novel, Giants in the Earth, at a Minneapolis publishing house for circulation only among the Norwegian-Americans of the Middle West. Giants in the Earth was, however, published in Norway, and has circulated widely there, having already passed through several editions. For this reason it may be said to belong to Norwegian literature, though Rølvaag himself is now American rather than Scandinavian, belonging to that group of successful immigrants of which Jacob Riis is perhaps the most noteworthy member.

Giants in the Earth and Vor Egen Stamme are by no means entirely alike. Bojer wrote from the Norwegian point of view, Rølvaag as an emigrant who had become American. Bojer shows a certain naivete. He stops again and again to make comments, to wonder over the vastness of the prairie, the romance of the settler's lives. Rølvaag accepts the joys and terrors of life on the prairie with calm matter-of-factness. He is, perhaps, less optimistic than Bojer, less ready to show the romance, for the hardships are more real to him than to his more truly Norwegian contemporary. However,

Giants in the Earth and Vor Egen Stamme are far more like than unlike each other. The two writers, men with entirely different backgrounds, have essentially the same interpretation of pioneer life in America. Both see hardships, dangers, opportunity, romance; both marvel over the wide sweep of the prairie, its power, its wealth, its vastness. This similarity is significant, for it shows that in this age a native Norwegian like Bojer is able to understand America, though he has seen it only as a visitor and is far from perfect in his knowledge.

SELMA LAGERLÖF.

Selma Lagerlöf, the greatest Swedish writer of the present day, has little to say of America, mainly because her special interest lies in the isolated field of Swedish saga and legend. She has, however, written one novel, Jerusalem, in which there are important American characters.

In a community of prosperous Swedish peasants a new religious sect is formed by an emigrant who has returned from America. The people sell their homes and go with him to live in Jerusalem with their American brothers, undergoing many hardships in the new climate. The leader of the American sect is a Mrs. Gordon, wealthy, cultured, sensible, accustomed to command many people, yet simple in her dress and habits. While about to drown after a shipwreck on the Atlantic, she had heard the voice of God speak to her of the need for unity. Immediately afterwards she was rescued, and, as soon as she had recovered from the shock and exposure of that night, she and her husband formed a new religious sect among their friends, and went to Jerusalem to live. Many people criticized and persecuted them, but no people were so cruel and unjust as their own countrymen who came to

Palestine as tourists and as missionaries. Even a law suit was started to force a rich widow who had joined the sect to give up her fortune or return to America. In order to defend this suit, Mrs. Gordon made a journey to Chicago where the papers were full of scandal concerning her and her followers. On this occasion she met Hellgum, a Swedish emigrant who had formed a somewhat similar sect among his friends some years before. Hellgum had tried to live out Christ's teachings in a Chicago factory only to find that the workers took advantage of him, made him do their extra work, and finally threw the blame for a theft upon his shoulders, so that he was imprisoned for a time. Finding that he could not live out Christ's teachings alone, Hellgum formed a sect among his fellow workmen, and discovered that many could do what one could not. This sect joined the Gordonists in Jerusalem. Poor, ignorant factory workers and wealthy, cultured Americans lived happily and harmoniously together. They knew how to build up a pleasant, comfortable home life, and they knew, also, how to be kind to the natives and to the Swedish peasants who joined them later. Very pleasing, indeed, is Miss Lagerlöf's picture of the Gordonists and Hellgumians.

Aside from a few scattered references to emigration and hard work, this story of the founding of two sects constitutes Selma Lagerlöf's contribution to literature dealing with America. She has, of course, shown only fragmentary glimpses of life in the United States - sects unjustly persecuted, papers full of scandal, factory workers who take advantage of a fellow workman, rich tourists eager to tell unsavory tales and boast of the progressiveness of their own country, wealthy, cultured people, happy, comfortable home life, ignorant factory workers who strive to live Christian lives and are accepted as brothers by cultured and wealthy countrymen. Fragmentary as this picture is, it shows an American where good and evil exist side by side, education and ignorance, culture and coarseness. It is the America of Kielland and Lie rather than of Fredrika Bremer or Knut Hamsun.

HENNING BERGER

In the last quarter of a century a number of accounts of America have been written by unsuccessful immigrants. Most of these have been third-rate writers whose accounts do not really have a place in Scandinavian literature, but a few have been more important. In this latter class, to which Hamsun belongs, we may also place Henning Berger, a Swedish writer whose work has had great popularity in the twentieth century. Berger lived in the United States as an immigrant for almost ten years. Destitute and unable to find work, he soon became embittered, and his dislike for America did not disappear during the following eight years when he held a position in the Chicago office of the White Star Line. Berger longed to go back to Sweden, and a way finally opened. With a friend he started a magazine on the American model, thus supporting himself in his old homeland. It was while acting as editor of this magazine that Berger wrote his first book, Där Ute,¹ a volume of Chicago sketches, many of them personal. It was published in 1901, and followed by further sketches, and, in 1905, by Berger's first novel, Ysail, which is also a Chicago story.

Berger sketches life in the big city as seen by an immigrant, friendless and out of work. Naturally

1. Out There.

the picture is not much brighter than Hamsun's. Berger writes himself in the postscript to Där Ute, "And of one thing the author is convinced: his collected American sketches have never helped lure emigrants away to "Där Ute"! Doubtless he is right!

Berger, like Hamsun, writes of materialism, of feverish bustle and haste, of deafening noise, prejudice against foreigners, lawlessness, drinking, and hard work - when there is work; but whereas Hamsun's stories sketch the unpleasant side of life on the prairie, Berger pictures street life in Chicago. His heroes are Swedish youths who have lost their ideals and ambitions in the bitter struggle for existence. Hopelessly they wander from employment office to employment office, sleeping at night on park benches, writing home for more money, and visiting pawn shops, cheap restaurants, and barrooms where food is dispensed with the beer. Some of them find work at last, only to be hardened and coarsened by American business methods or dismissed for a mere whim after years of faithful service. Those who prosper and grow wealthy do not find happiness; they become slaves to their work, worried, unsatisfied millionaires. Better had they starved in Sweden!

1. Berger. Där Ute. Efterskrift. 1923. p. 137. "Och en sak är författaren övertygad om: hans samtliga Amerikas kildringar ha aldrig hjälpt till att locka emigranter bort till 'Där Ute'!"

Berger shows other phases of American life - newspapers reeking with crime and scandal, ignorant, untrained doctors with dirty instruments, streets brilliant with light and life and movement, happy, good humored negroes, cheap amusement parks, night schools for artists where weary people strive to keep their ideals and ambitions alive. Here and there he shows sympathy and kindness, but, all in all, the picture is dismal. For Berger the American people are selfish and heartless, egoists who value nothing more than "cheek", and America is a "heartless, egoistic land of plenty."¹ Hamsun is not more pessimistic than this.

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The writers of the early nineteenth century showed easy optimism and little real knowledge in their treatment of America. They were followed by men who, in a period of transition, showed optimism or pessimism according to the school they followed, yet tended more and more to see America's faults. The writers of the twentieth century have entirely laid aside the easy optimism of their predecessors. Some of them are very bitter in their outlook upon America; others see faults, but begin also to understand their cousins across the sea.

1. Berger. Der Ute. "Utan Arbete." "(Without Work.)" p. 52. "hjärtlösa, egoistiska överflödslandet."

It is from these writers who have sympathy as well as knowledge that we may hope for a more complete and just interpretation of America than the Scandinavian people have hitherto been given.

CHAPTER IV.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

Scandinavian writers are generally more interested in the character of the American people than in their government, their literature or art. This is not at all surprising, for there is usually more interest attached to the individual than to the system - and especially if the individual is a member of that heterogeneous body known as the American people. In characterizing such an individual the possibilities are almost endless. He may be an Indian or a negro, a Chinese laundryman or an Italian fruit vendor, a settler on the prairie or a cultured Bostonian whose forefathers came over on the Mayflower. The cosmopolitan nature of the society in which he moves, the mixture of types, of races and nationalities has made a deep impression upon the Scandinavian people who are themselves a fairly homogeneous group, in spite of the Lapps and Finns in the North and the German migrants in the South.

The Indian and the negro are probably the two American types most interesting to the Scandinavian people. This is quite natural, for they are both picturesque, characteristically American, and fairly familiar to the public through translations of Uncle

Tom's Cabin and of Cooper. The Indian is regarded with a mingling of fear and pity. Stories of his cruelty, his savageness, his utter deafness to reason have made a deep impression upon Scandinavian writers. Yet they pity the red man for his primitive simplicity and for the ill-treatment he has received at the hands of his white conquerors. Again and again his ready response to kindness is pointed out. As for the nobility of the Indian brave and the beauty of his women, Scandinavian writers from Fredrika Bremer to Knut Hamsun have regarded these characteristics as pure fiction.

The Scandinavian people understand the negro better than they do the Indian, for his slavery and the Civil War awakened their interest and a sympathy which has not yet disappeared. In general, Scandinavian writers feel that the negro lacks the mentality of the white man, that he is primitive in his emotions and in his thinking. They see compensations, however, in his happy disposition, his infectious good-humor, and his musical gift.

The immigrant naturally interests Scandinavian writers, especially if he is a countryman. Most of them feel that emigration drains away the youth and hope of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, and that the emigrant himself

is woefully ignorant as he sets out for America. Opportunity and prosperity may await him, but only if he is able to endure a long period of hardship and poverty, loneliness, home-sickness. America is not to blame for these hard years. She does all she can to help the immigrant whose coming adds to her burden of responsibility. Only men like Knut Hamsun and Henning Berger, who have tried and failed, speak bitterly of America as a land of prejudice toward foreigners.

Various other types of American citizens are mentioned in Scandinavian literature - cowboys who ride with a revolver in their pocket, gold diggers from California, Creoles from New Orleans, Kansas squatters, Boston professors, Southern slave owners, New England factory workers who are intelligent people with good books, good homes, and garden patches, their Chicago brothers, mere machines, spending what leisure and money they have at public dance halls and cheap moving picture shows. Two other types are described in more detail and mentioned with greater frequency - the American sailor, and the American tourist in Europe, both of which are familiar to the Scandinavian people. The American sailor does not seem to have made a good impression. As pictured by Ibsen, Lie, and Nexø, he is rough, uncivilized, ready to fight and drink and

stir up trouble wherever he goes. The picture of the American tourist is no more pleasing. Wealthy and extravagant, vulgar, boastful, inconsiderate of others, he appears again and again in Scandinavian literature. Now and then, however, he possesses culture.

American women are freer than their European sisters; they rule the home, take an important part in community affairs, and enter the business world or the teaching profession if they so choose. Many writers speak of their beauty, their ability to dress well, but no one seems to feel that character has developed from their freedom. Even Fredrika Bremer was disappointed in the American women she met!¹

Many and varied are the characteristics which have been attributed to the American people - selfishness and generosity, snobbishness and democracy, boldness and conservatism. Out of this confused mass a few characteristics may be singled out because of the frequency with which they are mentioned. From them we form a picture of the typical American - enterprising in business, fearless of all hindrances, hard working and energetic, but restless and hurried in his movements, democratic, hospitable, materialistic, lax in his moral standards. Such is the American of Scandinavian fiction.

1. See above, p. 30.

He does not always conform to type, of course, but seldom does he lose many of these characteristics.

The life of the American people has been described in detail only as it existed for the early settlers on the prairie,¹ for immigrants walking the streets of Chicago some thirty years ago,² and for America's aristocracy in the years preceding the Civil War.³ In all these pictures simplicity seems to be the main element. Life consists of eating, sleeping, work - or of longing for work, if there is none. Even New England's aristocracy does its own housework and plants gardens! It is only the Southerners who have slaves and leisure.

With simplicity there is happiness. American homes, as described by Fredrika Bremer, Björnson, and Selma Lagerlöf, are unpretentious, but comfortable and joyous. Hamsun's people do not possess real happiness, but they are too complacent to be dissatisfied. Berger's are restless, but that is usually because they are immigrants who have not yet learned America's ways. Once assimilated into American society, they, too, become complacent egoists.

1. See above, pp. 84, 88, 90 - 92.

2. See above, pp. 96 - 98.

3. See accounts of Fredrika Bremer and of Carsten Hauch.

The complexity of modern American life is not pictured by Scandinavian writers, nor has there been much description of fine and cultured homes since the days of Fredrika Bremer. It is the strange and the picturesque which attracts attention. The life of the early settlers on the prairie, of the Chicago factory worker, the California gold digger, the cowboy, and the backwoodsman will probably become more and more familiar to the Scandinavian people, while the life of the college graduate remains unsung.

The unusual character of the American government and educational system has naturally interested Scandinavian writers. Though Strindberg and Hamsun object to the American tyranny of the masses, the republican government has generally been praised as a successful but by no means perfect experiment. Even Strindberg seemed to feel that it was the beginning of better things. America's work toward world peace was also praised by Strindberg and Bjørnson, who saw in it hope for the peaceful settlement of all international problems. Politics were mentioned by only three writers - by Berger as an important factor in deciding economic conditions,¹ by Miss Bremer as an additional difficulty in connection with immigration,²

1. Berger. Ysail. p. 97.

2. Bremer. Hemmen i Nya Verlden. Vol. II, pp. 50 -51.

by Hamsun as a question which comes up every four years and is then forgotten till the next presidential election.¹

American schools are generally praised as institutions where poor and rich have equal opportunity, though Hamsun points out the fact that, since they cost enormous sums and are supported by school tax which everyone pays, they can not properly be called free schools.² Both Fredrika Bremer and Knut Hamsun speak of devotional exercises and of a marked effort to keep the students entertained and interested by varied subjects of instruction. Bjørnson praises the physiology courses offered in American schools, but hasty and inadequate preparation for the medical profession is referred to by several writers. A number of colleges are mentioned - Harvard, Oberlin, Monticello, the University of Wisconsin. They seem to be regarded as fine and growing institutions, but no real study has been made of them. In general, the Scandinavian people seem favorably impressed by the American school system. Only Hamsun has serious criticism to offer.³

1. Hamsun. Fra det moderne Amerikas Aandsliv. p. 46.

2. Hamsun. *op. cit.*, pp. 203 - 205.

3. See above, p. 73.

The Scandinavian people have been impressed by the number and variety of religious sects in the United States.¹ This is quite natural, for in the Scandinavian countries there is a state church, and the number of privately supported congregations is relatively small. The Quakers probably have been more praised and commented upon than any other sect, with the Unitarians a close second. The importance of the Catholic church, and of Catholic schools and hospitals, is mentioned frequently. Interdenominational prejudice, narrowness, active church-going, and strictness in Sabbath keeping are probably the most commonly observed characteristics of the American church. However, Scandinavian writers are also aware of the important place religion has had, and still has, in the history and development of the American nation.

Hospitals, prisons, and other similar institutions are praised for their efficiency and for their modern methods and equipment. In them Scandinavian writers see signs of progress, though they are not willing to admit the superiority of American schools, churches, or government except in a few minor details.

1. For a list of denominations mentioned see Appendix F.

Scandinavian writers have agreed that the American people in general lack artistic temperament, and for this reason their artists and sculptors have made little progress. There is talent, but no public to encourage it. Hence Europe has become the goal of America's artists, and older European art their model. They have not yet learned to seek large, national themes. Greater progress has, however, been made in sculpture than in painting.

The American theatre is far in advance of both painting and sculpture. The public, it is true, is untrained; it prefers melodrama and farcial comedy to more truly artistic productions, and native drama unfortunately conforms to the tastes of the people. However, America has had many great actors, and in realistic stagecraft its theatre is, Hamsun says, in advance of the European.

The negro with his folk songs and jazz bands playing Yankee Doodle seem to represent America's contributions to musical art. The jazz is described without enthusiasm, but for the songs of the negro the Scandinavian people seem to have conceived real affection.

American literature is treated much more fully than any other art. Both Fredrika Bremer and Knut Hamsun

complain of imitativeness and lack of national themes. There are, they say, a great number of second and third rate poets, for the country is full of women with literary ambitions and too much leisure. Of all American writers James Fenimore Cooper and Harriet Beecher Stowe have probably received most frequent mention and least praise. Hamsun and Strindberg ridicule Uncle Tom's Cabin as literature, and Cooper is always mentioned with affectionate oblivion to both his faults and his literary merit. Even Mrs. Osgood receives more praise than he! Though Longfellow is also very frequently mentioned and even made the author of Home, Sweet Home,¹ no one seems to class him with the greatest American poets. Hamsun calls him "the big, sleepy Longfellow"² and speaks of Robert Buchanan as his last great admirer.³

However, there are many writers whose work is praised. Mark Twain is one of these. Even Hamsun says of him, "He is not a poet, not a bit; but he is the wittiest head in American literature, a subtle maker of jokes, who gets people to laugh while he sits sobbing; he is pessimist, humorist, and satirist. One must have lived the American life for a time to really

1. Bjørnson. Pea Guds Veje. (On God's Way.) p. 132.

2. Hamsun. op. cit., p. 36. "den store, søvnige Longfellow."

3. Ibid., p. 243.

understand all his points; they are countless."¹ Hawthorne, Lowell, Bryant, Whittier, Howells, Harte, and Poe have won the admiration of various Scandinavian writers. It is Emerson, however, who wins the greatest praise. Both Miss Bremer and Knut Hamsun single him out as America's most original writer and thinker.

The American press is criticized by Scandinavian writers for the emphasis it lays on crime and scandal, for its false and perverted testimony, its undignified, blazing headlines. Through Scandinavian literature, from Hauch to Hamsun, it is pictured as a "yellow" press. Only one virtue is attributed to it - the rapidity with which it is able to gather up news through its flock of reporters, its network of telephone wires, its telegraph and cable which connect it with every corner of the globe.

It is evident that Scandinavian writers do not think the achievements of the American people lie in the field of literature, art, or music. Wherein then do they lie? America is a business world, Hamsun says, and Hauch, thinking of the same thing, calls it a nation of practical people. America's genius lies in its

1. Hamsun. op cit., p. 63. "Han er ikke Digter, ikke Spor; men han er den amerikanske Litteraturs vittigste Hoved, en forslagen Spasmager, som faar Folk til at le, mens han selv sidder og hulker; han er Pessimist, Humorist og Satiriker. Man maa have levet med i det amerikanske Liv en Tid for rigtig at forstaa alle hans Spidser; de er utallige."

business ability. It is a genius which organizes vast farms and great corporations, which invents intricate machinery, digs deep tunnels, builds marvellous bridges. Thomas Edison and Robert Fulton are its Dante and Michael Angelo. Some day America will find time for art, and develop in appreciation. At present it is too engrossed in its business affairs to more than seek to adopt the culture of Europe.

Much as the Scandinavian interpretation of America has varied from period to period, from writer to writer, it has, in certain respects, remained unchanged. Freedom and democracy, romance and natural beauty, strangeness and picturesqueness have been pointed out from the time of Wallin to the time of Bojer. The Hamsun who says there is no freedom, the Berger who does not see romance are exceptions rather than the rule. Variety and inaccuracy do exist, and will probably continue to exist as long as America is observed by men as different as Ibsen and Bjørnson, Hamsun and Bojer, but there is a developing spirit of understanding and an increase in knowledge which will probably make the interpretation of the future more accurate than that of the past has been.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE UNITED STATES.¹

I. Cities and Towns.

1. Albany, New York.
2. Ann Arbor, Michigan.
3. Augusta, Georgia.
4. Baltimore, Maryland.
5. Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
6. Boston, Massachusetts.
7. Brooklyn, New York.
8. Buffalo, New York.
9. Cairo, Illinois.
10. Cambridge, Massachusetts.
11. Canterbury, New Hampshire.
12. Cape May, New Jersey.
13. Charleston, South Carolina.
14. Charlottesville, Virginia.
15. Chicago, Illinois.
16. Cincinnati, Ohio.
17. Columbia, South Carolina.
18. Concord, Massachusetts.

1. The compilations of the appendices are based upon reading done for this study, and are hence far from complete. However, they are representative of the variety of references to America found in Scandinavian literature.

19. Detroit, Michigan.
20. Elgin, Illinois.
21. Galena, Illinois.
22. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
23. Hartford, Connecticut.
24. Jamestown, Virginia.
25. Joliet, Illinois.
26. Kansas City, Missouri.
27. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.
28. Lansing, Iowa.
29. Lennox, South Dakota.
30. Louisville, Kentucky.
31. Lynchburg, Virginia.
32. Macon, Georgia.
33. Madison, Wisconsin.
34. Memphis, Tennessee.
35. Middletown, Pennsylvania.
36. Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
37. Minneapolis, Minnesota.
38. Mobile, Alabama.
39. Montgomery, Alabama.
40. Montpelier, Vermont.
41. Mount Vernon, Virginia.
42. Nahant, Massachusetts.

43. Nauvoo, Illinois.
44. Newark, New Jersey.
45. New Orleans, Louisiana.
46. New York City, New York.
47. Norristown, Pennsylvania.
48. Northumberland, Pennsylvania.
49. Oberlin, Ohio.
50. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
51. Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.
52. Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin.
53. Providence, Rhode Island.
54. Racine, Wisconsin.
55. Reading, Pennsylvania.
56. Rochester, New York.
57. Rock Island, Illinois.
58. Richmond, Virginia.
59. Saint Louis, Missouri.
60. Saint Paul, Minnesota.
61. San Francisco, California.
62. Saratoga, New York.
63. Savannah, Georgia.
64. Sioux Falls, South Dakota.
65. Southport, Indiana.
66. Sunbury, Pennsylvania.

67. Trenton, New Jersey.
68. Utica, New York.
69. Vicksburg, Mississippi.
70. Washington, District of Columbia.
71. Westboro, Massachusetts.
72. West Newton, Massachusetts.
73. Worcester, Massachusetts.
74. Yorktown, New York.

II. Rivers.

1. Altamaha River.
2. Cedar River.
3. Colorado River.
4. Columbia River.
5. Groton River.
6. Delaware River.
7. Des Moines River.
8. Fever River.
9. Genessee River.
10. Harlem River.
11. Hudson River.
12. James River.
13. Juniata River.
14. Merrimac River.

15. Mississippi River.
16. Missouri River.
17. Mobile River.
18. Ocmulgee River.
19. Ohio River.
20. Peedee River.
21. Potomac River.
22. Red River.
23. Rio Grande.
24. Rock River.
25. Saint James River.
26. Saint John's River.
27. Savannah River.
28. Schuylkill River.
29. Shenandoah River.
30. Susquehanna River.
31. Swatara Creek.
32. Taunton River.
33. Tiago River.
34. Vermillion River.
35. Wisconsin River.

III. Mountains.

1. Alleghany Mountains.
2. Blue Mountains, Pennsylvania.
3. Blue Ridge Mountains.

4. Green Mountains.
5. Rocky Mountains.
6. Sierra Nevada Mountains.
7. White Mountains.

IV. Lakes.

1. Chain Lakes.
2. Lake Champlain.
3. Lake Huron.
4. Lake Michigan.
5. Lake Monroe.
6. Lake Ontario.
7. Lake Pepin.
8. Lake Pontchartrain.
9. Lake Superior.

V. Falls.

1. Niagara Falls.
2. Saint Anthony Falls.

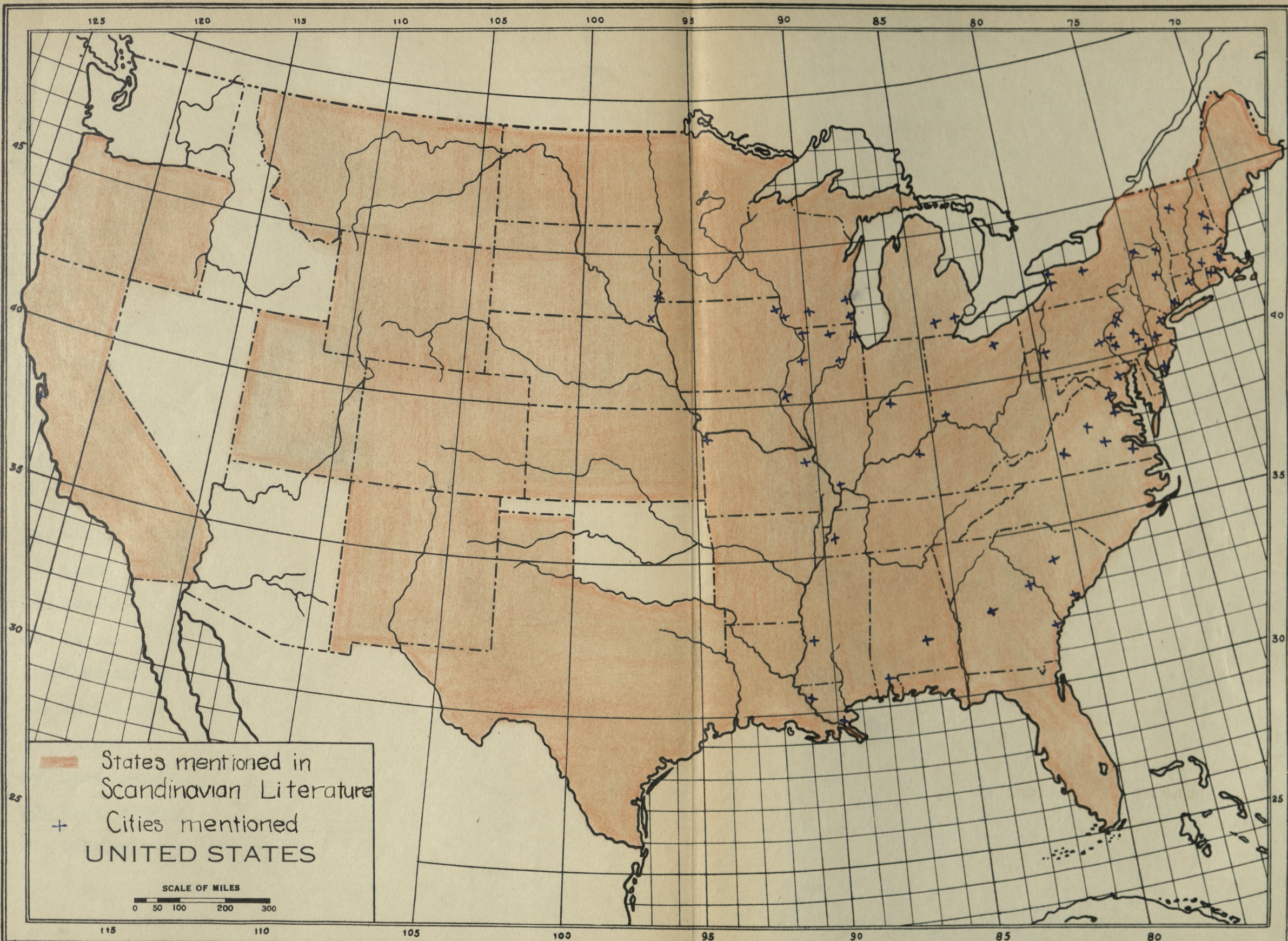
VI. Islands.

1. Long Island.
2. Spirit Island.
3. Staten Island.

VII. Swamps.

1. The Everglades.

MAP SHOWING GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF REFERENCES TO AMERICA



APPENDIX B.

FLORA.

1. Acacia.
2. Alder.
3. Alisma plantago (Water plantain).
4. Alianthus tree.
5. Aloe.
6. Ambergris tree.
7. Apple.
8. Apricot.
9. Arbor vitae.
10. Ash.
11. Aster.
12. Azalea.
13. Bean.
14. Beech.
15. Birch.
16. Blueberry.
17. Buckwheat.
18. Cactus.
19. Cane, maiden.
20. Cane, sugar.
21. Catalpa.

22. Cedar.
23. Chestnut.
24. Chrysanthemum.
25. Convolvulus (morning glory).
26. Corn.
27. Corn, sweet.
28. Cornus florida (flowering dogwood).
29. Cotton.
30. Cottonwood.
31. Cypress.
32. Elm.
33. Fern.
34. Fir.
35. Flax.
36. Gentian.
37. Grape.
38. Grape, California.
39. Helianthus.
40. Honey-suckle.
41. Indigo.
42. Jasmine, cape.
43. Jasmine, wild.
44. Lagerströmia (crape myrtle).
45. Lemon.

46. Lily.
47. Linden.
48. *Linnaea borealis* (twin flower).
49. Lupin.
50. Magnolia.
51. Maple.
52. Maple, sugar.
53. Melon.
54. Mistletoe.
55. Moss.
56. Mulberry.
57. Myrtle.
58. Oak.
59. Oak, live.
60. Oats.
61. Oleander.
62. *Olea fragrans* (olive).
63. Orange.
64. Orange, wild.
65. Palm.
66. Palmetto.
67. Peach.
68. Pear.
69. Pear, prickly.

70. Pine.
71. Pine, Virginia.
72. *Pinus australis* (yellow pine).
73. Plum.
74. Poplar.
75. Potato.
76. Potato, sweet.
77. Prairie grass.
78. Prairie rose.
79. Raspberry.
80. Rice.
81. Rose.
82. Rose, Cherokee.
83. *Rudbeckia*.
84. Rye.
85. *Sassa[^]parilla*.
86. Sassafrass.
87. *Solidago* (golden-rod).
88. Spruce.
89. Squash.
90. Strawberry.
91. Sumach.
92. Sunflower.
93. Sycamore.
94. Tobacco.
95. Tomato.

- 96. Tulip tree.
- 97. Vanilla.
- 98. Vines, wild.
- 99. Walnut.
- 100. Wheat.
- 101. Willow.
- 102. Willow, weeping.
- 103. Yucca gloriosa (Spanish bayonet).

APPENDIX C.

FAUNA.

1. Alligator.
2. Antelope.
3. Bat.
4. Bear.
5. Bear, black.
6. Beaver.
7. Bee, wild.
8. Blackbird.
9. Buffalo.
10. Butterfly.
11. Cardinal.
12. Clam.
13. ~~Cougar~~ Cougar.
14. Copperhead.
15. Coyote.
16. "Crocodile" (probably alligator).
17. Deer.
18. Dog, Indian.
19. Duck, wild.

20. Eagle.
21. Elk.
22. Firefly.
23. Fish.
24. Fish, flying.
25. Flamingo.
26. Fly.
27. Fox.
28. Frog.
29. Gopher.
30. Grasshopper.
31. Hare.
32. Humming-bird.
33. Lobster.
34. Marten.
35. Meadowlark.
36. Mink.
37. Moccasin.
38. Mocking-bird.
39. Mollusc.
40. Mosquito.
41. Muskrat.
42. Oriole.
43. Owl.
44. Oyster.
45. Panther.
46. Parrot, green.

47. Pelican.
48. Pony, Indian.
49. Porpoise.
50. Prairie dog.
51. Rabbit.
52. Raccoon.
53. Rattlesnake.
54. Salamander, water.
55. Sparrow, gray.
56. Squirrel, flying.
57. Swan.
58. Thrush.
59. Tiger.
60. Turkey, wild.
61. Turtle.
62. Whale.
63. Wild cat.
64. Wolf.
65. Wolf, gray.

APPENDIX D.

RACES AND NATIONALITIES.

1. Armenian.
2. Chinese.
3. Creole.
4. Danish.
5. Dutch.
6. English.
7. French.
8. German.
9. Gipsy.
10. Greek.
11. Indian.
12. Indian half-breed.
13. Irish.
14. Italian.
15. Japanese.
16. Jew.
17. Mexican.
18. Mulatto.
19. Negro.
20. Norwegian.
21. Scottish.

22. Spanish.

23. Swedish.

24. Syrian.

25. Turkish.

APPENDIX E.

AMERICAN MEN AND WOMEN.¹

1. Adams, Samuel - military surgeon.
2. Agassiz, J. L. R. - naturalist.
3. Alcott, Amos Bronson - philosophical writer and educator.
4. Allston, Washington - painter.
5. Anderson, Mary - actress.
6. Astors, the.
8. Barlow, Joel - poet.
9. Barnum, P. T.
10. Barrett, Lawrence - actor.
11. Beecher, Henry Ward.
12. Bennett, De Robigne Mortimer - freethinker.
13. Benton, Thomas Hart - Statesman.
14. Berrien, John Macpherson - statesman.
15. Black Hawk - famous Indian chief.
16. Blackwell, Elizabeth - pioneer in medical profession for women.
17. Booth, Edwin - actor.
18. Boucicault, Dion - actor and playwright.
19. Bridgman, Laura Dewey - blind deaf-mute.
1. Some fifty names were found which have not been included in this list because of their obscurity.

20. Bryant, William Cullen.
21. Burritt, Elihu - social reformer and linguist, blacksmith by trade.
22. Calhoun, John Caldwell.
23. Campbell, Helen - author.
24. Channing, William Ellery - chief founder of American Unitarianism.
25. Channing, William Henry - clergyman.
26. Chase, Salmon Portland - statesman.
27. Child, Lydia Maria - author.
28. Clarke, James Freeman - clergyman.
29. Clay, Cassius - politician.
30. Clay, Henry.
31. Colden, Cadwallader D. - lawyer and biographer.
32. Cooper, James Fenimore.
33. Corwin, Thomas - statesman.
34. Cushman, Charlotte - actress.
35. Dickinson, Daniel Stevens - statesman.
36. Dix, Dorothea - philanthropist.
37. Douglas, Stephen Arnold - statesman.
38. Downing, Andrew Jackson - horticulturist.
39. Edison, Thomas Alva.
40. Emerson, Ralph Waldo.
41. Fillmore, Millard - thirteenth president of the United States.

42. Fitch, John - inventor.
43. Franklin, Benjamin.
44. Fulton, Robert - inventor.
45. Garrison, William Lloyd - journalist and abolitionist.
46. George, Henry - political economist.
47. Gibbons, Mrs. Abigail Hopper - philanthropist.
48. Gould, Jay - financier.
49. Grant, Ulysses S.
50. Gray, Asa - botanist.
51. Hale, John Parker - senator.
52. Hale, Mrs. Sarah Josepha - author.
53. Hall, Louisa Jane Park - poet.
54. Hamilton, Alexander.
55. Hart, John Seely - author, editor of "Sartaine's Magazine."
56. Harte, Francis Bret.
57. Hawkins, John Henry Willis - reformer.
58. Hawthorne, Nathaniel.
59. Hollbrook, John Edward - naturalist.
60. Holmes, Oliver Wendell.
61. Hopper, Isaac Tatem - philanthropist.
62. Houston, Samuel - general and statesman.
63. Howe, Samuel - physician.

64. Howells, William Dean.
65. Hunt, Harriot Kezia - physician, probably the first to practice in the United States.
66. Ingersoll, Robert.
67. Irving, Washington.
68. James, Henry Senior - theological and philosophical writer.
69. James, Jesse - bandit.
70. Jefferson, Joseph - actor.
71. Jefferson, Thomas - third president of the United States.
72. Kemble, Fanny - Anglo-American actress and author.
73. Kirkland, Mrs. Caroline - author.
74. Knox, John - clergyman.
75. Lathrop, John Hiram - educator.
76. Lee, Anna - founder of the Shakers.
77. Lincoln, Abraham.
78. Longfellow, Henry Wordsworth.
79. Lowell, James Russell.
80. Lynch, Anne C. - poet.
81. Mann, Horace - educator.
82. McIntosh, Maria - author.
83. Miles, James W. - missionary.
84. Mott, Lucretia - reformer.

85. Oglethorpe, James - founder of Georgia.
86. Osceola - famous Indian chief.
87. Osgood, Mrs. Frances Sargent - author.
88. Ossoli, Margaret Fuller.
89. Paine, Thomas - political writer and free thinker.
90. Parker, Theodore - clergyman.
91. Penn, William - founder of Pennsylvania.
92. Perry, Matthew Calbraith - Naval officer.
93. Phillips, Wendell - orator.
94. Pocahontas.
95. Poe, Edgar Allan.
96. Poinsett, Joel Roberts - statesman.
97. Powers, Hiram - sculptor.
98. Powhatan - Indian chieftain.
99. Putnam, J. - publisher.
100. Ramsey, Alexander - secretary of war, governor of Minnesota.
101. Roosevelt, Theodore.
102. Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe - ethnologist.
103. Sedgwick, Catherine Maria - author.
104. Seward, William Henry - statesman.
105. Sigourney, Lydia Huntley - author.
106. Simms, William Gilmore.
107. Smith, Captain John.

108. Soule, Pierre - statesman.
109. Sparks, Jared - historian and educator.
110. Spring, Marcum - socialist and abolitionist.
111. Spring, Rebecca - socialist and abolitionist.
112. Stanton, Elizabeth - reformer.
113. Stone, Lucy - reformer.
114. Stowe, Harriet Beecher.
115. Talmage, Reverend de Witt - clergyman.
116. Taylor, Bayard.
117. Taylor, Zachary - twelfth president of the United States.
118. Thoreau, Henry David.
119. Twain, Mark (Samuel Clemens)
120. Vanderbilts, the.
121. Wallace, Lew - author.
122. Washington, George.
123. Webster, Daniel.
124. West, Benjamin - painter.
125. Whitman, Walt.
126. Whittier, John Greenleaf.
127. Willis, Nathaniel P.

APPENDIX F.

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS.

1. Baptist.
2. Calvinist.
3. Catholic.
4. Congregational.
5. Dunkard.
6. Episcopalian.
7. Jewish.
8. Lutheran, Scandinavian and German.
9. Methodist.
10. Mormon.
11. Presbyterian.
12. Quaker.
13. Shaker.
14. Unitarian.
15. United Brethren.

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54. Strindberg, August. Det Nya Riket. Skildring-
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III. Scandinavian Books relating to America not used in this study.

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2. Ager, Waldemar. Præsten Conrad Walther Welde. n. p., n. d. (Norwegian - American story).

3. Angered-Strandberg, Hilma. Den nya världen. Ljus, 1906. (Swedish novel of immigrant life).

4. Appel, E. President Wilson. n. p., n. d.

5. Arfwedson. Förenta Staterna och Canada, Åren 1832, 33, 34. Stockholm, Hjerta, 1835.

6. Beretning om Californien og dets Guldrigdom. Med et Kart over Californien. Christiania, 1849.

7. Beretning om de Norske Eetlere i Amerika. Bergen, G. Rudolf, 1848.

8. Berger, Henning. Bendel and Co. Bonniers, 1910. (A Swedish novel of immigrant life in Chicago.)

9. Berger, Henning. Syndafloden. Bonniers, 1908. (A Swedish drama with American setting).

10. Bourkarsson, N. Tre år i Mormonlandet. Berättelser efter egna iakttagelser. n. p., 1868.

11. Bråkenhielm, Malvina. Amerikafeber.

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13. Campanius, Theodore. Kort Beskrifning

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2 Bind. (Danish sketches of American life).

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Et Brev til Hr. Amtmand Möinichen. Kristiania, 1843.

17. Daa, Peter. Om Chicago. n. p., n. d.

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18. Dahlerup, Hans Birch. Skizzer fra et kort

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19. Dan, Jonssons, Humoresker. Brothers and Sisters

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20. Dietrichson, Johannes Vilhelm. Reise blandt de Norske Emigranter i de forenede Nordamerikanske Fristater. Stavanger, 1846.

21. Ebbel, B. J. Gutter som blev Mænd. n. p., 1911. (Norwegian sketches of the boyhoods of Lincoln, Livingstone, and Charles Gordon).

22. Ebbell, C. Hun som skrev Onkel Toms hytte. n. p., n. d.

23. Edgardh, Johan. Swanson, Johnson, och Nelson i U. S. A. n. p., n. d. (A collection of Swedish short stories with American setting).

24. Elgström, Ossian. Chicagoboheme. n. p., n. d.

25. Ericsson, Gustaf. Bland fångar och filmhjältan i U. S. A. n. p., n. d.

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27. Ewald, J. Jack London. En biografi. n. p., n. d. (A Danish biography of Jack London).

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32. Hellström, Gustaf. Ett Rekommendationsbrev. n. p., n. d. (A Swedish novel of American life, in two volumes.)

33. Hessel, A. Kort Beretelse om den Svenska Kyrkos närvarande tilstånd i Amerika öfvergripeliga tankar om des vidare förkofing Upstälte af Andrea Hesselis för detta probst og kyrkioherde i Pensilvanien. Norkioping, 1725.

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36. Holck, Johannes. Vestens Babylon. n. p., n. d.

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38. Janson, Kristofer. Fra begge sider havet. n. p., n. d.

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40. Jensen, J. V. Christopher Columbus.
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41. Johnson, J. S. Minnesota. Nordmændenes
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43. Kalm, Peter. En Resa til Norra Amerika,
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44. Kalm, Peter. Enfaldiga tankar om nyttan som
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45. Kämpe, Alfred, Vinddrivna. Geber, 1911.
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46. Klaveness, Thv. Det norske Amerika. n. p., n. d.
47. Klinkowström, Axel, Bref om de Förente Staterna
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48. Koht, H. Den amerikanske nasjonen. n. p., n. d.
49. Kort Berättelse om Wäst Indien eller Amerika
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50. Krämer, H. von. Ur frihetslandets järnkäftar. Stockholm, n. d. (The adventures of a Swede in the United States).

51. Laurent, Vivi. Vivis resa. Ett år som piga från New York till San Francisco. Stockholm, n. d. 2 Bind.

52. Levin, Paul. Flugten til Amerika. n. p., n. d. (A Danish drama).

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54. Lund, Inge. Guld med täljknivar. Stockholm, n. d. (A novel of the life of Swedish-Americans in the United States).

55. Mathiesen, M. En sommer i Adirondack bjergene. n. p., n. d.

56. Michélas og Dahlerup. Danske foregangsmand i Amerika. n. p., n. d. (Written by Danish-Americans).

57. Molbeck, O. C. Kampen om Prærien. n. p., n. d.

58. Molbeck, O. C. Over Havet. n. p., n. d.

59. Molbeck, O. C. Pochahontas. n. p., n. d.

60. Moltke, C. P. O. Panama Canalen. n. p., n. d.

61. Möller, Arthr. Sedligheten från U. S. A. och andra historier. Stockholm, n. d.

62. Munk, J. Beskrivelse af Seigland og resa til Nova Dania. Kiøbenhavn, 1619.

63. Den Norske Studentsangforenings Konsert-tournee gennem Amerika. 1905.

64. Nielsen, R. Den ny Kurs i Amerikas Udenrigs-Politik. n. p., n. d.

65. Nordentoft, J. Blandt danske i Amerika. n. p., 1906.

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67. Omirk. Amerikaneren. n. p., n. d.
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68. Reisen til Amerika. Danske Studenter-Sangforenings Amerikafærd. 1911.

69. Riis, Jacob A. Hvordan jeg blev Amerikaner. n. p., n. d. (A translation of The Making of an American).

70. Riis, Jacob A. Theodore Roosevelt: Mennesket-Borgeren. n. p., n. d.

71. Salmonsens, M. Minder fra 40 aar ophold i Chicago. n. p., n. d.

72. Sanden, Gabriel. Konsul Carlings hunder. Stockholm. n. d. (A Swedish novel of American life.)

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75. Sparre, C. I Alabamas Kjölvand. n. p.,
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76. Storm, Gustav. Christofer Columbus og
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77. Strömberg, Leonard. Guldgåverna. Berättelser.
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78. Strömberg, Sigge. Cowboys. n. p., n. d.

79. Strömberg, Sigge. Den ljusa skalpen. n. p.,
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80. Strömberg, Sigge. Prærieliv. n. p., n. d.

81. Strömberg, Sigge. Vildhjårnor. n. p., n. d.

82. Sundby, J. Amerikansk jordbruk. n. p., n. d.

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83. Sundby, J. Amerikansk system for fremskridt-
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84. Thakla, Knut. Det norske folk i Amerika.
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85. Uppström, Aivva. Nya Sverige. Fritze,
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86. Vedsted, H. C. Amerika-skildringer. n. p.,
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87. Waerner, N. Mina hundår i Amerika.

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